

# SOCIAL FORCES

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## INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND THE FORMATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL LABOR MARKET FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF A SMALL COUNTRY\*

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WITH the present war in Europe and with the further developments which the present war situation seems to indicate, it may appear futile to take up for discussion the problem I am going to present here. In preparing this paper, I have had a strong feeling of futility myself. But, on the other hand, we know this war has to come to an end sometime and somehow. We have every reason to believe that the major economic and social problems which constitute some of the many causes for this war will be as unsolved when the war ends as they were when it started, and we know that if there is ever going to be a lasting world peace, these problems have to be solved.

We know these problems too well. They are the problems of markets, of trade barriers, of raw materials and colonization, of international movements of people, of capital, and of goods. We know, too, that these problems can not be solved by politicians and arms. Any real solution, or attempt at any real solution, must be based on unbiased and

constructive research done by economists and sociologists in these fields. It may be that economists and sociologists will now have their great chance, if they are aware of the problems and their significance, and if they are able to indicate solutions. This applies above all to economists and sociologists in those countries which are able to stay out of the war. They have the opportunity to work with these problems. And even though there are urgent internal problems in those countries themselves, perhaps it might be wise to take up the international problems in time, as there scarcely exists a single country in the world which is not affected by them.

I am not at all trying to outline such a research project here; that would be far beyond my capacity. But these remarks may serve as an introduction to a special and small part of the whole problem—international migrations and the formation of an international labor market as seen from a small country. I will present that single viewpoint here, and to a very large extent my presentation will be a description of how a small country like mine, Norway, suffered from the barriers against free movements of labor in the

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years after 1920, and especially after 1925, and why we have looked upon it as important to get what may be called an international labor market.

It may seem contradictory that the lack of opportunities for migration during the post-war period should have been able to cause national or international problems of any kind, considering that the outstanding problem discussed by students of population during recent years has been the decrease in fertility and the future decrease in population which has been feared in all west-European countries. With such a situation, one might also think that the migration problem had ceased to have any importance. But that is not the case. One must realize in this connection that the future decline in population, which the present trends in fertility seem to indicate, will not take place for 20 or 25 years, if ever. And, of course, even with a declining population it may be that emigration will be desirable at certain times, owing to special economic discrepancies. The modern migration problem, however, does not aim at that distant future when the population perhaps may have declined. It aims at the situation we have had for some time during recent years, and which may occur again—and which above all has been characterized by large unemployment in spite of all that has been done to improve the situation.

With the prevailing large unemployment during the years since 1920, it is easy to understand that opportunity for migration for all the previously leading emigration countries has seemed to be one of the remedies which might have altered the situation. It has in fact looked as if there were too many people seeking jobs compared with the actual number of jobs available, a viewpoint

which might be correct enough during depression years when economic activities shrink and make it extremely difficult for young people seeking work to get jobs. For that reason people in countries with limited resources naturally have thought that emigration to countries with richer resources and larger possibilities might have helped. As in many other countries, this has been the attitude in Norway. And that is easy to understand. From the middle of the last century up to 1914, Norway, next to Ireland, was the country in Europe which had the largest emigration compared to the total population, and this emigration certainly relieved heavy population pressure. It is no wonder, therefore, that emigration during the years following 1920 was considered by many as one of the major remedies for the unemployment we had during the greater part of those years, except the more recent ones, when the situation has been much better.

An analysis of the population development in the past and of the population and economic development during the post-war years seems to support this popular view. During the years from the beginning of the modern emigration in 1850 and up to 1914 we had a total overseas migration of 750,000 from Norway. Some of these emigrants returned; some were replaced by immigrants from other European countries. The result was a net emigration of about 600,000. At the same time the population in Norway itself increased steadily and rapidly, from 1.5 millions in the 1850's to 2.5 millions in 1914. It is now about 3 millions. In Norway, as in most other countries, the considerable increase in the excess of births over deaths, which accounts for this large emigration and, at the same time, for an increase of the population of the country itself, was due to a con-



siderable decrease in mortality and not to any increase in fertility. With regard to the population situation, these years in Norway, as in many other countries, are unique. Never before have we had a period with such high natural increase.

This development gives an impression of expansion, but an expansion due to decrease in the destructive factors. As has been pointed out, this again is due primarily to the economic growth in the last century and the beginning of this and to all the social, hygienic, and medical improvements during these years, which again are due partly to the economic growth. Furthermore it may be said that the high natural increase in some way was due to the opportunities for migration. For a student of Norwegian economic conditions during the last hundred years, it is impossible to imagine how it would have been possible to provide a livelihood for the huge flow of migrants in the country itself. Emigration was a safety valve. Absence of emigration would undoubtedly have resulted in smaller natural increase than we actually had, but it might have been that the actual increase in the Norwegian population in that event would have been larger than it was.

This large emigration took its toll from the population of working age (15-65 years), and with the astonishing result that this part of the population during the entire last century amounts to a stable 60 percent of the total population.

With this background it is interesting to see how rapidly and fundamentally the population situation altered during the post-war period with the decreasing fertility and the cessation of emigration. The population of working age composed, in 1930, 63 percent of the total population, increased by 1934 to 66 percent, and through the period was higher than at

any time before. Of course, the decrease in the actual number of children to some extent accounts for the increase in the *percentage* of population of working age. But the *actual* increase of this part of the population, between 1920 and 1930 about 180,000 and between 1930 and 1934 about 108,000, was comparatively higher than in any other period except that of 1910-1920. But during those years extraordinary economic conditions made it easy to assimilate this large increase in the economic life of the country, in contrast to what was to be the case later.

Based on the total increase of population of working age we can estimate that Norwegian economic life between 1920 and 1930 should have provided work for 120,000 people more, between 1930 and 1934 for about 70,000 more. In a country like the United States these are small figures; in Norway they were large. And as a matter of fact all those people did not get work. Norway lacks reliable employment statistics covering all types of workers, and, owing to the difference in the unemployment situations of 1920 and 1930 and to inadequate unemployment statistics, it is very difficult to estimate the actual increase in employed people during this decade. I once tried to make such an estimate, covering all branches of Norwegian economic life, and came to the conclusion that the actual increase in people who had gainful occupation must have been 35,000-40,000. As we had, at the same time, an increase of about 120,000 in population seeking work, we get a structural type of unemployment in 1930 of about 80,000, due to the prevailing economic conditions and to an extraordinary increase in the population of working age.

The inability of the country in a certain period to provide work for all those who were seeking work is nothing new. The

heavy migration during previous decades is one of the proofs of that. Neither is the problem solved by asking whether a different economic policy in the country itself might have given more possibilities for employment. I admit that there were potential possibilities for resettlement which might have been utilized and which might have created better conditions. But with limited natural resources and, above all, with the prevailing international economic conditions during these years, the possibilities for inner colonization were small. Especially, with the comparatively large increase in people seeking work during those years, it seems to me that it would have been very difficult to do something, through inner colonization, which might have been effectual.

It is useless to discuss whether the Norwegian population during those 15 years had passed its optimum, with conditions as they actually were, and whether the country was overpopulated. As all population literature shows, these terms are so undefined and are used in so many different meanings that we must either dismiss them, or, if we continue to use them, agree upon exact definitions. The main point here must be to attempt to discuss whether increased possibilities for emigration might have lessened the combined population pressure and economic pressure in the country. To be able to do that, I have computed figures which show how an increased emigration, as the one which Norway had from 1900-1914, would have influenced the number of people of working age and the increase of persons seeking work between 1920 and 1935. For this calculation I used not the total emigration rates but the rates for 5-year age groups, as the age distribution of the population has changed a great deal during those years, and I took into consideration the probable effect of a

higher migration on the annual number of deaths in the different age groups and on the annual number of births. Of course, such a calculation is a fiction, but is intended to illustrate how a certain migration, such as the pre-war migration, would have influenced the population situation in the post-war period.

The results are rather startling. Under the assumptions mentioned, Norway would have had a population which, during recent years, would have been, not stationary, but, so to speak, constant. The population of working age would have been reduced in 1930 from 63.2 percent of the total population to 62.5 percent, and from 65.8 percent to 64.8 percent in 1934. This does not seem important, but in actual numbers it would have meant that, in 1930, we would have had about 100,000 persons less in the able-bodied groups than we actually had. During the years 1920-1930 we actually had about 12,000 persons for whom new work should have been provided every year. With an emigration as stated, the annual number would have been slightly above 5,000. During the years after 1930 up to 1935, which still had considerable unemployment, we would have had a yearly increase of people seeking work of only 8,000 instead of the 18,000 we actually had.

Furthermore, this reduction would have been most significant in the younger age-groups, where the unemployment was most severe about 10 years ago. The age-group of 15-19 years did not increase by more than 2,000 in the Norwegian male population between 1920 and 1930, yet there were 15,000 unemployed men in this age-group in 1930. For men in the age-group of 20-30 years there was an increase of almost 15,000 during the same period and an unemployment of 32,000 in 1930. Even if we take into considera-

tion the unemployment which existed in 1920, and for which we have no exact figures, there can be no doubt that there were fewer young men at work in 1930 than there were in 1920. An emigration, as assumed previously, would have reduced the number of people in the age-group of 15-19 years in 1930 by 15,000, and that is the same number as the number of unemployed in this age-group in 1930. The age-group 20-29 years would have been reduced by 35,000, a number exceeding the number of unemployed in this age-group in 1930. In the other age-groups the reduction caused by such an emigration would have been somewhat less than the number of unemployed. For the whole adult male population the reduction caused by emigration would have been 65,000; the actual number of unemployed men was 97,000, including those out of work only for a short period.

Figures like these raise the question of whether or not an emigration of, for example, the calculated size might have lessened the economic difficulties in the country during this period. Naturally, with the complicated mechanism of modern economic life, it will always be impossible to determine how one development, which took place under certain conditions, would have been altered if one of the factors involved had been changed. Starting with the vaguest presumption, I may be safe in saying that even with a highly increased emigration we might after all have had crisis and unemployment in a country like Norway during the post-war years, because the main cause for the crisis and the unemployment was not population pressure. However, the enormous increase in the number of people seeking work was, in this period of depression and technological changes in industry, one of the causes,

and may have made the conditions worse than they otherwise would have been.

Judging from the Norwegian economic development from year to year in this particular period, it is furthermore likely that increased opportunities for emigration might have created better conditions both for those who emigrated, provided this had been possible, and for those who remained at home. The steady augmentation, year after year, of young people for whom there were no economic opportunities indicates this, and our previous experiences with regard to the effects of migration indicate the same. As I mentioned before, migration has always served as a safety-valve, and especially in hard times. An analysis of the fluctuations in Norwegian migration compared with business conditions in this country and in Norway also substantiates this conclusion.

During recent years there has been much discussion in population literature of the possible effects of emigration on economic conditions, and especially on the unemployment situation in the emigration country. The view which has been most common and which has been expressed among others by Carr-Saunders and Kuczynski is that emigration as a rule will have an insignificant effect on unemployment conditions in the home land, because a certain amount of consumption emigrates with the unemployed. As you will have seen, I hold a quite different opinion for the Norwegian situation during the years 1920-1935. I have a feeling that both Carr-Saunders and Kuczynski in this matter hold a too abstract, static, and general viewpoint. In my opinion these problems must be dealt with concretely; they must be treated as the dynamic problems they really are, and each situation and each separate problem must be dealt with by



itself. Generalizations must be avoided as much as possible.

Furthermore, the problem which Carr-Saunders and Kuczynski have dealt with is not quite the same as the one I have tried to outline here. Their assumption is a state of affairs with a certain unemployment and a plan for reduction of this unemployment by emigration. I think such an emigration, if of any considerable size, would have considerable economic effect, because a certain part of the economic life in the country, so considered, would have been engaged in producing the means of livelihood for these unemployed and their families, and this market would disappear. But my problem is a different one. My assumption is that such a situation could not arise, that we would have had, during the period considered for Norway, not a large emigration at a certain time when those unemployed had stayed for a long time and consequently constituted an important group of consumers, but an emigration from year to year of what, during those years, was a surplus of people. That would have prevented this group from accumulating; and, for the period I have talked about, it is probable that such an emigration would have meant a certain relief.

I have discussed this Norwegian development between 1920 and 1935 at length, because this development well illustrates one of the major reasons—the economic reason—why so many small European countries have recently advocated relaxation of restrictions on international migration, in order to relieve some of their population pressure. For these small countries such an emigration might have been very important. And, as the actual number of emigrants from the small countries would have been small compared with the capacity of what might become

the future immigration territories in the world, this problem should not have been so difficult to solve for the small countries alone. I will not generalize from this special Norwegian development, but I think it is very probable that, in the small countries, with their limited resources, there might be similar situations in the future, which would be relieved most easily by emigration. Therefore, and because we, in general, find all obstacles to free international movements unfortunate, we have been greatly interested in the work which different international bodies have taken up in this field during recent years.

Of course, in this connection no one believes, or even hopes, that anything like the great immigration to the United States will start again. It is quite clear to everyone who has studied these problems that the particular conditions which made this large immigration possible, no longer exist here or elsewhere. When I previously calculated figures for the population development which Norway might have had since 1920 if the migration rates had been as in the prewar period, it was for the sake of argument, and not because I thought such an emigration possible during that period, even with full freedom to migrate. But even a regulated and comparatively smaller emigration might at times be of certain economic importance to the emigration country, as well as to the migrants themselves.

This idea of a small and regulated emigration in the form of a regulated international labor market is what lies behind the attempts to take this problem up again. Considerable work has already been done in this field, especially by the International Labor Organization from its very beginning, in studies of both a theoretical and a practical nature, by the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation in

valuable studies on Peaceful Change, and by many individual writers. Some time ago the Financial Section of the League of Nations apparently intended to take up the whole problem, and the Assembly of the League appointed a committee of experts to investigate and sponsor research in this and related fields. Unfortunately, this League of Nations Committee, which might have been able to achieve important results, on the basis of what had already been done, is now, as far as I know, inoperative.

Thus, valuable time goes to waste and the much needed work in this field, involving at the same time national and international studies, is not being done. Of these, the national studies are not the least important. I hope, and I think many people in European countries who have been working with these problems hope,

that students in those countries who, are fortunate enough to stay out of the war, will take up systematic work in these fields. We must, here as elsewhere, either point the way out of the difficulties, or show that these problems themselves, like the one I have discussed, are not real problems, but artificial ones and propaganda. In my opinion they are not artificial or unreal. They seem to me to be among the most important problems we face, and are problems which must be solved if we are to have a peaceful world in the future. We have seen too often that if we do not allow people to move from country to country in peace, with tools for peaceful work, some of them will sooner or later move with tools of destruction. And if we do not allow goods and raw materials to cross the frontiers, armies will cross.

## POPULATION TRENDS AND THE FUTURE DEMAND FOR TEACHERS

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THE purpose of this essay is to describe the quantitative effect of the decline in natality upon the future demand for teachers on the elementary, secondary, and college levels. The prospective pupil estimates are derived from the population estimates prepared by the National Resources Committee. Enrollment and teacher data have been derived from the published reports of the United States Office of Education.

### I. PROSPECTIVE POPULATION OF SCHOOL AGE

In Table I are given the prospective populations of elementary (5-13), high school (14-17), and college (18-21) age.

By 1980, if the present trend continues, absolute numbers in these three groups will be about 43, 37, and 31 percent, respectively, below the 1930 level.

### II. PROSPECTIVE ENROLLMENT AND TEACHER REQUIREMENTS

In Table II are given student enrollment and faculty figures for 1920-1940 for (public plus private) elementary and secondary educational institutions.<sup>1</sup> Throughout

<sup>1</sup> The number actually employed as teachers, supervisors, and administrators exceeded by about 3 percent the numbers reported in columns 3 and 5. In 1935-36, 76,000 were enrolled in private commercial schools; 24,000 in Federal Indian schools; 68,000 in schools for

TABLE I  
POPULATION, BY AGE CLASS, 1930-80  
(In Thousands)

YEAR	AGE CLASS		
	5-13	14-17	18-21
1930	22,229	9341	9027
1936	21,711	9565	9440
1940	20,176	9732	9674
1945	18,681 to 19,400	8985	9623
1950	17,943 to 19,861	8174	8912
1955	17,276 to 19,873	7756 to 8404	8231 to 8515
1960	16,351 to 19,579	7473 to 8502	7884 to 8640
1965	15,284 to 19,010	7125 to 8443	7490 to 8708
1970	14,264 to 18,510	6679 to 8212	7190 to 8594
1975	13,368 to 18,182	6225 to 7916	6726 to 8348
1980	12,567 to 17,956	5829 to 7813	6276 to 8124
I	2	3	4

TABLE II  
FACULTY AND PUPILS, IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE  
ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS,  
1920-1936  
(In Thousands)\*

YEAR	ELEMENTARY		SECONDARY	
	Pupils	Faculty	Pupils	Faculty
1920	20,864	621.5	2495	121.2
1930	23,588	702.5	4800	237.9
1932	23,567	706.7	5593	258.2
1934	23,200	670.9	6091	250.7
1936	22,707	669.6	6425	295.6
1938-39	21,782	—	6995	—
1939-40	21,750	—	7600	—
I	2	3	4	5

\* Figures for 1938-1940 are approximate.

this paper secondary figures are for grades 9 to 12; elementary figures are for grades 1 to 8 and (unless otherwise indicated) kindergarten (which has accounted for 2-3 per-  
cent of all enrollment in grades 1 to 8 plus kindergarten).  
the deaf, blind, delinquent, and feeble-minded; faculty in these three classes of schools approximated 10,000. In 1935-36, 74,000 "exceptional" children were attending residential schools, and 73,000 were enrolled in nursing training schools. The figures here given are not included in Table II.

cent of all enrollment in grades 1 to 8 plus kindergarten).

The number of teachers needed on any given educational level depends upon (a) the pupil enrollment, and (b) the pupil:teacher ratio, or the number of pupils served, on an average, by each teacher. Pupil enrollment on any given educational level depends upon (a) the number of persons of the age correspondent with the level, and (b) the percentage of the persons of the appropriate age group who actually enroll as pupils. The annual demand for new teachers on any educational level is the sum of two components, additions and replacements. By additions we mean the difference between the total requirements as of two consecutive years or periods. By replacements we mean such teachers as enter the system to fill places vacated through death, through retirement because of age or permanent disability, and through abandonment of a given level of teaching for other occupations. The additions component will be positive or negative according as total requirements increase or decrease.



The *replacements* component will always be positive, for death and other factors will remove annually 3 to 8 or more percent of any teaching group, elementary, high school, or college.

(1) *The Elementary System.* In Table III are given estimated future elementary enrollments and teacher requirements. Enrollment estimates have been obtained by multiplying by 1.05 (the coefficient obtaining in 1935-1936) future estimates of children aged 5 to 13. (This coefficient will

cent below the urban; the public school figure has remained above 33. Pupil *attendance* per teacher is 12-17 percent below pupil *enrollment* per teacher.) Given low fertility and either a constant or a falling pupil:teacher ratio, the annual teacher requirement falls (columns 4-5); given medium fertility and a constant ratio, the decline does not become appreciable until after 1960 (column 6). Only on the double assumption of medium fertility and a falling ratio, does the requirement increase

TABLE III  
ESTIMATED FUTURE ELEMENTARY ENROLLMENT AND ELEMENTARY TEACHER REQUIREMENT, 1936-1980  
(In Thousands)

YEAR	ELEMENTARY AND KINDERGARTEN PUPILS		ELEMENTARY AND KINDERGARTEN TEACHERS			
	Low Fertility	Medium Fertility	Low		Medium	
			33	33-25	33	33-25
1936	22,707	22,707	670	670	670	670
1938-39	21,782	21,782	—	—	—	—
1940	21,185	21,185	642	642	642	642
1945	19,615	20,370	594	613	617	624
1950	18,640	20,854	565	601	632	673
1955	18,140	20,867	550	605	632	696
1960	17,169	20,558	520	588	629	709
1965	16,048	19,960	486	573	605	713
1970	14,977	19,436	454	555	589	720
1975	14,036	19,091	425	540	579	734
1980	13,195	18,854	400	528	571	754
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

have to be increased only slightly if all children aged 4½-5 go to kindergarten.) Teacher estimates, as given in columns 4 and 6, are based on the assumption of one teacher for each 33 pupils; as given in columns 5 and 7, on the assumption of one teacher for each 33, 32, 31, 30, 29, 28, 27, 26, and 25 pupils, respectively, in 1940, 1945, 1950, 1955, 1960, 1965, 1970, 1975 and 1980. (In 1920-36 the number of pupils enrolled per teacher in all elementary schools fluctuated between 33.3 and 34.6, the rural figure remaining 10-15 per-

cent below the urban; the public school figure has remained above 33. Pupil *attendance* per teacher is 12-17 percent below pupil *enrollment* per teacher.)

In Table IV we give 8 estimates of the future average annual demand for new elementary teachers. Estimates in columns 2-5 are based upon the supposition of an 8 percent annual replacement rate;<sup>2</sup> those

<sup>2</sup> Whereas the *additions* component of the future annual demand for new elementary teachers is generally negative in consequence of the steady decline in total teacher requirements, the *replacements* component is positive. Death, coupled with ageing

TABLE IV  
ESTIMATED NET ANNUAL NUMBER OF NEW TEACHING POSITIONS IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS AND  
KINDERGARTEN, 1920-80\*  
(In Thousands)

PERIOD	ANNUAL REPLACEMENT = 8 PERCENT				ANNUAL REPLACEMENT = 8.5 PERCENT			
	Low		Medium		Low		Medium	
	33	33-45	33	33-45	33	33-45	33	33-45
1920-30	58	58	58	58	58	58	58	58
1930-35-36	51	51	51	51	51	51	51	51
1935-36-40	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48
1940-45	42	46	46	48	39	42	43	45
1945-50	42	47	52	60	36	41	46	53
1950-55	42	49	51	58	34	40	41	48
1955-60	38	45	50	58	27	33	37	44
1960-65	35	44	46	58	23	31	31	42
1965-70	32	40	45	58	20	28	30	41
1970-75	31	41	45	60	18	26	29	41
1975-80	29	43	45	63	16	25	27	41
I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

\* Figures for 1920-40 are derived from Table II on assumption of 8 percent turnover yearly. Estimates for 1940-80 are derived from Table III. Columns 2-5 are based on assumption of replacement rate of 8 percent annually. Columns 6-9 are based on following annual replacement rates: 1940-45, 7½; 1945-50, 7; 1950-55, 6½; 1955-60, 6; 1960-65, 5½; 1965-70, 5½; 1970-75, 5½; 1975-80, 5. See note 3 also.

in columns 6-9, upon the supposition that the annual depletion (or replacement) rate will fall gradually from 8 to 5 percent.<sup>3</sup> These estimates indicate: (a) that the

beyond the retirement level, reduces a given teaching population by 2 to 3 percent per year, according as the average age of the teaching population is low or high. In the past other factors (chiefly withdrawal from the elementary teaching profession, disability, and marriage of female teachers) have raised the annual depletion rate from 2-3 to 10-15 or more percent. (Around 1900 the depletion rate apparently exceeded 20 percent; in 1910 it exceeded 15 percent; in 1931 it approximated 11 percent; since 1931 it apparently has fallen below 10 percent.) For the elementary school system as a whole the annual depletion (or replacement) rate probably has fallen to 8 percent. It will continue to fall as remuneration and conditions of employment improve, particularly in rural and depressed areas, and as it is realized that unless married women are permitted to continue in their chosen occupations, the nation will be unable both to support its aged and induce its female members to marry and replace the population.

demand for new teachers will not decline, given medium fertility and a sufficiently falling pupil:teacher ratio (see column 5); (b) that the demand will fall gradually, given the assumptions underlying columns 3, 4, and 9; (c) that, given the assumptions

<sup>3</sup> See note under Table IV for rates assumed. The method of deriving the estimates in Table IV may be exemplified as follows. We see in column 4, lines 3 and 4, in Table III, that the teacher requirements in 1940 and 1945 were, respectively, 642 and 594 thousands: hence there is a net *addition* of -48,000. On the assumption of an 8 per cent yearly replacement rate, 257,000 of the original 642,000 (i.e.,  $5 \times .08 \times 642,000 = 257,000$ ) must be replaced. Therefore the total new teaching positions open in 1940-45 is  $257,000 - 48,000 = 209,000$ ; the annual average for 1940-45, therefore, is  $209,000 \div 5 = 42,000$ . Since the annual replacement rate in the 1920's probably exceeded 8 percent, the annual number of new positions open probably exceeded 58,000. In view of the lack of employment opportunities, etc., in 1930-36, the then annual replacement rate probably did not exceed 8 percent.

underlying columns 2, 6, 7, or 8, the annual demand for teachers will fall continuously and appreciably; (d) that the decline will become more precipitate after 1980 when all assumed counterbalancing factors cease to operate. In the light of trends during the past 15 years, it is highly probable that the actual future situation will approximate that depicted in columns 2 and 7. If this be the case the annual demand for new elementary and kindergarten teachers will approximate 40-42 thousands in 1940-55—i.e., 12 to 17 percent less than in 1935-40; in the subsequent 15-year period it will fall near to if not below 30,000. Should the pupil:teacher ratio remain at 33:1, and should the annual replacement rate fall as assumed, the demand for new teachers in the next decade will be only 37-38 thousands (see column 6), or nearly one-fourth less than in 1935-40; moreover, the annual demand will steadily fall to a level, 25 years from now, nearly 50 per cent below that prevailing in 1935-40. *In short, in light of the most tenable assumptions, the future market for elementary teachers will become increasingly bearish.*

(2) *The Secondary or High School System* (i.e., pupils generally aged 14-17 and enrolled in grades 9-12 or their present or future equivalents). Inasmuch as both genetic and economic factors now limit enrollment in the secondary system, future enrollment therein cannot be predicted with absolute accuracy even when future population growth is given. Since usual secondary curricula cannot be handled by persons with I.Q.'s of less than 90, and since probably not over 80 percent of the population of high school age (i.e., 14-17) have I.Q.'s of 90 or better, it is unlikely that 100 percent of the population of high school age will be enrolled in the secondary system. There is reason to believe, however, that, given improved childhood

surroundings, efficient teaching, and curricula suited to fit for a full and efficient collective and vocational life, the 60-80 percent of secondary pupils who cannot go on to college, it will pay the nation in socio-economic terms to supply "second-

TABLE V  
ESTIMATED FUTURE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE  
SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT AND  
TEACHER REQUIREMENTS  
(In Thousands)\*

YEAR	SECONDARY PUPILS			TEACHERS		
	Low		Medium	Low		Medium
	71	71 → 90	71 → 90	11	11 → 10	11 → 10
1936	6436	6436	6436	296	296	296
1940	7007	7007	7007	319	319	319
1945	6469	6739	6739	294	313	313
1950	5885	6376	6376	268	304	304
1955	5584	6282	6807	254	306	332
1960	5381	6277	7142	245	314	357
1965	5130	6199	7345	233	310	367
1970	4809	6011	7391	219	306	370
1975	4482	5603	7124	204	280	356
1980	4197	5246	7032	191	262	352
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

\* Estimates in columns 3 and 4 are derived from Table I on the assumption that the following percentages of population aged 14-17 attend secondary schools: 1940, 72; 1945, 75; 1950, 78; 1955, 81; 1960, 84; 1965, 87; 1970 and thereafter, 90. Estimates in column 2 are based on the assumption that the corresponding percentage remains constant at 71. Estimates in columns 6 and 7 are obtained from columns 3 and 4 on the assumption of the following pupil:teacher ratios: 1940, 22 to 1; 1945, 21½ to 1; 1950, 21 to 1; 1955, 20½ to 1, 1960 and thereafter, 20 to 1. Estimates in column 5 are obtained from column 2 on the assumption of a constant pupil:teacher ratio of 22 to 1.

ary" education to about 90 percent of children aged 14 to 17. At present, secondary pupils, expressed as a percentage of the population aged 14-17, approximate 72 per cent; the corresponding percentage was 32.2 in 1920, 51.4 in 1930, 58.4 in 1932, 64.4 in 1934, and 67 in 1936.



In Table V we give estimates of prospective secondary enrollments and teacher requirements based upon stipulated assumptions. The estimates in column 2, representing minimum future enrollments, indicate a steady decline; those in column 3, which probably approximate maximum future secondary enrollment, indicate that this enrollment will fall but not so rapidly as the population of high school age. Of the teacher requirement estimates (columns 5-7), that in column 5, representing the minimum future need, steadily falls; that in column 6, which is more likely to be realized, suggests that *total* secondary teaching requirements may not decline until after 1970.<sup>4</sup>

In Table VI we give the estimated net annual number of high school teaching positions available to recruits to the ranks of secondary teachers. We assume a 5 percent yearly replacement rate in columns 2-4; for since secondary teachers are better remunerated and more specialized than elementary teachers and have relatively fewer more attractive alternatives, the secondary replacement rate will be appreciably lower than the elementary replacement rate. In column 2 we give the probable net annual *minima* and in column 3 the probable net annual *maxima*. The *minima* remain at a level of 10-11 thousand in 1940-65—i.e., about 50 percent below the annual net demands prevailing in 1920-40—and then fall slowly. The *maxima* remain constant until 1970 in the neighborhood of 15,000—i.e., about one-fourth below the 1930-40 level—and then decline sharply. Should

<sup>4</sup> Pupils per secondary teacher fluctuated between 20.2 and 24.3 in 1920-36, numbering 21.7 in 1936; corresponding figures for the public high school system, which includes over 93 percent of all secondary students, fluctuated between 21.6 and 24.9, approximating 22.3 in 1936. In 1930 the corresponding figures for urban junior and senior high schools were, respectively, 28.6 and 26.7.

the yearly replacement rate gradually fall to 3 percent, future *minima* (see column 5) will fall gradually from 9,000 in the early 1940's to 4,000 after 1965; the *maxima* (column 6) will fall very slowly from 13 in 1940-45 to 9 in the 1960's and 4-5 thereafter. *In short, given low fertility, future*

TABLE VI  
ESTIMATED NET ANNUAL NUMBER OF NEW  
TEACHING POSITIONS IN SECONDARY  
SCHOOLS, 1920-80\*  
(In Thousands)

PERIOD	ANNUAL REPLACEMENT = 5%			ANNUAL REPLACEMENT = 3%		
	Low		Medium	Low		Medium
	71 21	71→90 21→20	71→90 21→20	71 21	71→90 21→20	71→90 21→20
1920-30	18	18	18	18	18	18
1930-35-36	22	22	22	22	22	22
1935-36-1940	19	19	19	19	19	19
1940-45	11	15	15	9	13	13
1945-50	10	14	14	7	11	11
1950-55	11	16	21	7	11	16
1955-60	11	17	22	6	11	15
1960-65	10	15	20	5	9	13
1965-70	7	15	19	4	9	12
1970-75	8	10	16	4	4	8
1975-80	8	10	17	4	5	10
I	2	3	4	5	6	7

\* Figures for 1920-40 in columns 2-7 are derived from Table II on assumption of 5 percent per year replacement rate. Figures in columns 2-4, 1940-80, are derived from columns 5-7, respectively, in Table V, on assumption of 5 percent yearly replacement rate. Figures in columns 5-7, 1940-80, Table VI, are derived from columns 5-7, respectively, in Table V, on assumption of the following annual replacement rates: 1940-45, 4½ percent; 1945-50, 4; 1950-55, 3½; 1955-80, 3.

*annual net demands will not much exceed 50-75 percent of the 1930-40 level, and will fall even lower one to three decades hence. In the unlikely event of medium fertility, however, the future annual net demand will not fall appreciably below the 1930-40 level, be-*

fore 1970, unless the annual replacement rate drops to 3, or the percentage enrollment (of persons 14-17) does not rise above that now prevailing (see columns 4, 7).

(3) *The College System* (i.e., all junior colleges, colleges, universities, and professional schools except nursing, and all students enrolled in classes above the

ment are removed.<sup>5</sup> In 1936 college enrollment (about 7 percent of which consisted of graduate students), expressed as a percentage of the population aged 18-21, approximated 12.8 percent; it was 4.01 in 1900, 8.14 in 1920, 12.19 in 1930.

Our estimates of future college enrollment (see Table VII), accordingly, are

TABLE VII

ESTIMATED ENROLLMENT AND FACULTY IN AMERICAN JUNIOR AND REGULAR COLLEGES, UNIVERSITIES, AND PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS COMBINED, 1925-1980\*

(In Thousands)

	STUDENTS							FACULTY						
	Low				Medium			Low				Medium		
	13	13-21	13-25	13-30	13-21	13-25	13-30	13	13-21	13-25	13-30	13-21	13-25	13-30
1925	917	917	917	917	917	917	917	77	77	77	77	77	77	77
1931-32	1154	1154	1154	1154	1154	1154	1154	101	101	101	101	101	101	101
1935-36	1208	1208	1208	1208	1208	1208	1208	110	110	110	110	110	110	110
1940	1258	1258	1258	1258	1258	1258	1258	114	114	114	114	114	114	114
1945	1251	1347	1395	1468	1347	1395	1468	114	128	133	140	128	133	140
1950	1159	1337	1426	1560	1337	1426	1560	105	134	143	156	134	143	156
1955	1070	1317	1440	1626	1362	1490	1682	97	132	144	163	136	149	168
1960	1025	1340	1498	1734	1469	1642	1901	93	134	150	173	147	164	190
1965	974	1348	1536	1798	1567	1785	2090	89	135	154	180	157	179	209
1970	934	1366	1582	1869	1633	1891	2234	85	137	158	187	163	189	223
1975	874	1345	1581	1883	1670	1962	2337	79	135	158	188	167	196	234
1980	816	1318	1562	1883	1706	2031	2437	74	132	157	188	171	203	244
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15

\* See note 6 for method of estimating students. Faculty (i.e. teachers, administrators, and extension and research workers) figure for 1925 is partly estimated. Faculty estimates in columns 10-15 are derived from student estimates in columns 3-8 on the assumption of one faculty member for each 11 students in 1940; one for 10½ in 1945; one for 10 in 1950-80. Faculty estimate in column 9 is derived from column 2 on assumption of one faculty member for each 11 students throughout 1940-80.

secondary level). Prospective college enrollment is even more affected than secondary enrollment by economic and genetic factors. Since only persons with I.Q.'s of 115-120 or better—probably not over 25-30 percent of the population of college age—can handle present-day college work, and since a college training is unnecessary for at least 70 percent of all jobs, future college enrollment probably will not exceed 30 percent of the population aged 18-21, even if economic obstacles to enroll-

<sup>5</sup> If, as H. F. Clark suggests, 1-2 years of post-high school training are necessary to fit men and women to meet the technical requirements of the modern world, the 30 percent figure must be raised to 47-65 percent. I question Clark's conclusion. Were a college education deemed necessary for all professional persons and all non-agricultural proprietors, managers, and officials, for one-half the farmers, skilled workmen, and foremen, and for one-fourth the clerks, only around one-third of the gainfully employed would have to be supplied with a college education. Many persons in these categories would be injured rather than benefited by a present day college education, however.

based upon four assumptions with respect to the percentage of persons of college age (18-21) attending college: (a) column 2, the percentage remains constant at 13 throughout the period 1940-80; (b) 3 and 6, it rises from 13 in 1940 to 21 in 1980; (c) 4 and 7, it rises from 13 in 1940 to 25 in 1980; (d) 5 and 8, it rises from 13 in 1940 to 30 in 1980.<sup>6</sup> Given low fertility, the number of students will reach a peak in 1940-50 (column 2) if the percentage remains at 13. Given low fertility and assumption (b), enrollment will rise to a

respectively, enrollment will continue to increase during the next 30-40 years. Given medium fertility, enrollment will rise on the basis of assumptions (b), (c), or (d).

In columns 9-15 of Table VII we give the future teacher requirements. The ratio of faculty (i.e., teachers plus administrators plus research and extension workers, but not clerical and custodial workers) was  $11\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 in 1931-32,  $10\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 in 1933-34, 11 to 1 in 1935-1936. If the pupil:teacher ratio remains constant,

TABLE VIII  
ESTIMATED NET ANNUAL NUMBER OF POSITIONS IN AMERICAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, 1925-80  
(In Thousands)

PERIOD	LOW FERTILITY				MEDIUM FERTILITY		
	13	13→21	13→25	13→30	13→21	13→25	13→30
1925-31-32	5.7	5.7	5.7	5.7	5.7	5.7	5.7
1931-32-1935-36	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.8
1935-36-40	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.2
1940-45	3.4	6.2	7.2	8.6	6.2	7.2	8.6
1945-50	1.6	5	6	7.4	5	6	7.4
1950-55	1.6	3.6	4.4	6	4.4	5.4	7
1955-60	2.2	4.4	5.6	6.8	6.2	7.4	9.4
1960-65	2.0	4.2	5.4	6.6	6.4	8	9.6
1965-70	1.8	4.4	5.4	6.8	6	7.4	9
1970-75	1.4	3.8	4.8	5.8	5.6	7	8.8
1975-80	1.4	3.4	4.6	5.6	5.8	7.2	9
I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

kind of peak plateau by 1945 and remain there until after 1975 (column 3). Given low fertility and assumptions (c) and (d),

<sup>6</sup> The specific postulated percentages by which the population, aged 18-21, as estimated in Table I, has been multiplied to obtain estimates in column 3-8 in Table VII are:

1940	13	13	13
1945	14	14½	15½
1950	15	16	17½
1955	16	17½	19½
1960	17	19	22
1965	18	20½	24
1970	19	22	26
1975	20	23½	28
1980	21	25	30

faculty requirements will change in the same proportion as student enrollment. In column 9 we give the minimum future teacher requirements; this reaches a peak in 1940-50 and then falls. Columns 10-15 are based upon the supposition that the pupil:teacher ratio will fall from 11 to 1 in 1940 to  $10\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 in 1945 and 10 to 1 in 1950 and later years.<sup>7</sup> Total faculty requirements may reach a peak plateau about

<sup>7</sup> These assumed ratios are founded upon the further supposition that while classes will probably increase in average size in the future, the growing demand for adult education, extension services, and research will reduce the ratio to 10 to 1 by 1950.



1950 and remain there for a quarter-century (column 10); or they may continue to increase somewhat until 1970 (columns 11-12). Given the unlikely assumption of medium fertility and a falling pupil: teacher ratio, a peak will not be reached for 40 years (columns 13-15).

In Table VIII we give the estimated net annual number of new faculty positions available in the college and university system; these estimates are derived from Table VII on the assumption of a 3 percent yearly replacement rate.<sup>8</sup> In column (2) we give *minimum* future net annual new faculty positions; the number falls to a kind of plateau, in 1950-80, more than 50 percent below the 1925-40 level. In columns (3) and (4) we give the more probable future annual new requirement; it reaches a peak in 1940-45 and then falls gradually to a level equal to or somewhat below that prevailing in 1925-40.

### III. DISTRIBUTION OF THE IMPACT OF FALLING FERTILITY

The impact of the decline in the number of actual and potential pupils will be unevenly distributed over the educational system. Some geographical areas will be more affected than others. Elementary schools will feel the effect more than secondary schools, and the latter, more than colleges. Teachers of some subjects in the college system will feel the effect in great measure, whereas others will not be affected for years to come.

All institutions (elementary, secondary, and college) drawing students from areas of low and rapidly falling natality will face a much more rapidly shrinking body

of youth than will those located in high natality areas. We can merely suggest the unevenness of the distribution by expressing in percent the decline (or increase) between 1930 and 1950 in the absolute number of children aged 5-14 years in sections of the United States (on the assumption of no internal migration): urban population, -28; rural-non-farm, -7; rural-farm, +6; New York state, -25; California, -23; Nebraska, -13; Vermont, -9; North Carolina, +4; Mississippi, +2; New Mexico, +15. In New York City several years hence first grade enrollment will be only half what it was twelve years ago. In general, most educational institutions (elementary, secondary, and higher) located in the larger cities, in the Far West, and in the Middle West and East, will have to adapt themselves to a shrinkage in the absolute number of persons aged 5-21; they can maintain enrollments only by securing a larger proportion of the population of school age.

The college system as a totality probably will not feel the impact of falling fertility for some years to come, whereas the elementary and secondary systems are already feeling it. Even on the assumption of maximum teacher requirements in the elementary system (Table III, column 4), the total needed will continue to fall; the annual demand likewise will fall (Table IV, column 3). Assuming maximum teacher requirements in the secondary system (Table V, column 6), the total will fall slightly after 1940, and the annual number of openings will decline slightly relative to the 1930-40 level (Table VI, column 3). The college total, on the contrary, may continue to increase somewhat, given any but the minimum assumption (Table VII, column 9), for the next 20-30 years; the annual number of faculty openings, on the same assumption, will reach a peak in the

<sup>8</sup> Age, death, and permanent disability are almost the only factors operating to deplete the existing college faculty personnel; for, given the conditions of work and remuneration and the specialized training of the faculty personnel, noncollege alternatives seldom induce faculty members to abandon teaching, research, or administration.

next 5-10 years, and then decline in varying measure (Table VIII, columns 3-5).

Given the present annual output of elementary and secondary teachers, a growing surplus of unemployable teachers is likely to develop. In Table IX we give estimates of the total net average annual number of teaching positions that will be open in the elementary and secondary systems combined. On the supposition of our

TABLE IX  
NET AVERAGE ANNUAL NUMBER OF TEACHING  
POSITIONS OPEN IN ELEMENTARY AND SEC-  
ONDARY SYSTEMS COMBINED, 1920-80\*  
(In Thousands)

PERIOD	NET ANNUAL NUMBER POSITIONS OPEN			
	High		Low	
	IV <sub>3</sub> plus VI <sub>3</sub>	IV <sub>2</sub> plus VI <sub>2</sub>	IV <sub>7</sub> plus VI <sub>3</sub>	IV <sub>7</sub> plus VI <sub>6</sub>
1920-30	76	76	76	76
1930-35	73	73	73	73
1935-40	67	67	67	67
1940-45	61	53	57	55
1945-50	61	52	55	52
1950-55	65	53	56	51
1955-60	62	49	50	44
1960-65	59	45	46	40
1965-70	55	49	43	37
1970-75	51	39	36	30
1975-80	53	37	35	30
1	2	3	4	5

\* Figures are obtained from Tables IV and VI by adding the columns from these tables as designated by arabic numerals in table heading. The 1920-30 estimate is too low.

maximum assumptions, the total annual number of positions in the next 20 years will not much exceed 60 (column 2) thousands, whereas, for the entire period 1920-40 the annual average exceeded 70; given lower assumptions, the annual average will be in the neighborhood of 55 thousands until 1950 and then fall below 50. In the face of this annual demand of around 55-62 thousands, our educational

system is turning out something like 70,000 elementary and high school teachers each year. In 1935-36, 312,000 regular session students, 25,000 of whom were graduate students, were preparing to teach in the elementary and the secondary schools; in 1933-34 the corresponding figures were 288 and 18 thousands. These figures suggest an annual output of some 70,000 primary and secondary teachers and administrators. In the two academic years ending in 1934, over 109,000 potential teachers (58,000 with first degrees in education and 52,000 specializing in education but without education degrees as such) were graduated by teacher training institutions and departments; in the two succeeding years, 107,000 (64,000 with and 43,000 without education degrees). To this number must be added all persons training to teach, especially in high school, but not included in the totals just given. In short, each year something like 10,000 nonemployable teachers are being poured into the elementary and the secondary teaching profession, 80-200 thousands of whose members were unemployed already in the early 1930's. Of this surplus only a small number can find employment in adult education or in schools not included in our computations.

It is not possible to make an effective comparison of what may be called the annual "supply" of, and the annual "demand" for, new college faculty. As we have indicated (see Table VIII), in 1940-45, the average annual number of new college positions open in each year will range between a minimum of 3.4 and a maximum of 8.6 thousands; in the next two quinquennia it will range between a minimum of 1.6 and a maximum of 6-7.4 thousands. Even on the basis of a not too conservative estimate (see Table VIII, column 3) the annual new demand will average only about 6 thousands in 1940-45,

5 in 1945-50, and somewhat under 4 in 1950-55. At present the annual number of doctor's degrees is in the neighborhood of 3,000; of master's, in the neighborhood of 18,000. Assuming that half the college faculty recruited annually are doctors,<sup>9</sup> and that industry and government annually absorb 2,000 doctors, the 1940's will witness a yearly demand for not over 5,000 doctors, and probably a much smaller number.

No surplus of masters will develop, assuming an annual output of 18,000, provided that each year higher education absorbs 2,000 and that the high school and elementary systems absorb 16,000.<sup>10</sup> In fact, were our higher education properly oriented to the needs of a modern technological economy, 10,000-20,000 more masters at the minimum could be absorbed annually in the governmental, business, and related noneducational sectors of the American economy.

It does not follow from the preceding discussion that all branches of higher education are as yet immune to the decline in the number of children of school age. On the contrary, most branches of higher education designed to train elementary and secondary teachers will experience a decline in total and annual demand. The extent of this decline can only be indicated indirectly because of the paucity of relevant statistical materials. In 1930-35 an annual average of about 73,000 new ele-

mentary and secondary teachers was needed, on the basis of our assumptions. Assuming that one out of each 4½ students enrolled in teacher training institutions and departments becomes an elementary or secondary teacher, we get an annual required enrollment of 328,000 students. On the assumption of one college teacher to each 11 of these students, 30,000 college teachers are needed to produce 73,000 new elementary and secondary teachers annually. Assuming no additions and a 3 percent replacement rate, 900 new college teachers are needed each year to keep the total constant at 30,000. Reasoning in the same manner from the maximum totals given in column 2 in Table IX, we estimate that in 1940-50 somewhat under 600 new college teachers will be needed annually in place of the 900 annual average estimated as needed in 1930-35. It is safe to infer that 30 to 40 percent fewer teachers will be required each year than in 1930-35 in institutions and departments devoted solely to the training of elementary and secondary teachers; after 1960 the annual requirement will decline to even lower levels.

The annual demand for college teachers engaged predominantly but not solely in the training of elementary and secondary teachers (e.g., college teachers of English and literature, modern and ancient languages, history, civics, psychology) will decline (if it declines in absolute terms) relatively less, as the results of purely demographic changes, than the annual demand for college teachers of courses in "education." The bulk of future increases in college enrollment will (or should) enter courses of study designed to fit man for living in a complex technological environment: namely, medicine and related fields, engineering and related fields, economics and related fields, political science, sociology, natural science, and mathe-

<sup>9</sup> Of the teaching faculty in the fully accredited higher educational institutions of Indiana (for which state alone these data are given), only 36 percent were doctors in 1934-35. See *Annual Report of State Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Indiana for 1934-35*, p. 62.

<sup>10</sup> A maximum of about 15,000 teaching jobs will open annually in the secondary school system. Non-teaching administrative openings in the elementary and secondary systems will range between 1,500 and 2,500 each year. Openings in schools not included in our figures probably will not exceed 500 yearly.



matics.<sup>11</sup> It is in these fields that the number of college teaching positions will increase, assuming (of course) that university curricula are really adapted to social needs and trends.<sup>12</sup>

For reasons that are both demographic and nondemographic in character, the demand for teachers in English and literature, languages, history, civics, psychology, and similar subjects will fall by a greater amount than is directly derivable from the mere trend in the demand for elementary and secondary teachers. At present secondary curricula are adapted primarily to the preparation of students for college; yet today only one-fifth of the students going to high school later go to college, and, on the basis of our maximum

estimates, only one-third of those attending high school will go to college. It follows, therefore, as the New York Regents' and other reports show, that the high school curriculum must be completely reorganized and adapted to fitting 60 to 80 percent of high school students for vocational and other aspects of daily existence. In fact, it will be impossible to raise to 90 percent the percentage of persons 14-17 attending secondary schools unless the curriculum is revised to meet the needs of the times. If these changes are effected in high school curricula, the relative demand for some types of college subject matter will be greatly reduced, irrespective of the population trend.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

While lack of space prevents discussion of the many implications of the data presented, at least three inferences may be drawn:

- (1) The present tendency to standard-reducing interdepartmental and intercollege competition will increase unless checked by strong administrators.
- (2) Only a reorientation of secondary and college curricula to the needs of a dynamic democracy founded upon technology can cushion the effect of the continuing decline in fertility.
- (3) Since the need, if it ever existed, for many small teachers and sectarian colleges will soon disappear, it is advisable that all public and private funds for the extension of collegiate capital equipment be concentrated upon those universities and colleges, public and private, which, on the basis of their records to date, appear worthy of such aid.

<sup>11</sup> The absolute and relative rates of growth in doctorates by subject do not correspond to needs as outlined. Doctorates in literature and languages continue to number 12 percent of the total; education, 11-13; history, 6; philosophy 2. Sociology, medical sciences, mathematics, and natural science have remained nearly stationary at 2, 6, 3, and 33 percent respectively; economics has fallen from 7 to 4. Computed from data for 1926-1927 and 1934-1935, in C. S. Marsh, *American Universities and Colleges*, 3d ed. (Washington, 1936), Table XI, p. 74.

<sup>12</sup> The future demand for lawyers will be governed largely by what happens in other branches of higher learning. Given a great expansion along the lines anticipated above, the demand for lawyers will fall markedly; for law graduates in the recent past have found employment in large measure in essentially nonlegal occupations (chiefly in the business and governmental world) for which a legal education is (from the social point of view) a handicap rather than a help.

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PIONEER SOCIOLOGIST

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AMERICAN society of ante-bellum days revealed a cultural cleavage even more profound than that implied in Lincoln's "house divided" speech. Behind the struggle over slavery, the militant elements, North and South, professed to see two contending points of view—"sociologies" as some called them during the 1850's—in a deadly grapple for supremacy. The northern abolitionist's challenge appeared to certain slavery proponents as a denial of the fundamental social verities of the South—its stratified society of a patriarchal caste as opposed to the free competitive social system with its class war; an orthodoxy rejecting the "isms"; the romantic exaltation of the white woman; and an increasing nationalistic conviction of a homogeneous South stemming from Cavalier forbears, as contrasted to a cosmopolitan North of Puritan and immigrant antecedents. In an attempt to create a scientific sociological system for the *status quo* of the southland, George Fitzhugh of Virginia wrote *Sociology for the South* (1854); Henry Hughes of Mississippi, in the same year published *A Treatise on Sociology*; and, preceding both, George Frederick Holmes, an Englishman naturalized in the South, wrote during 1842 and afterwards of the pressing need for a scientific sociology along the induc-

tive lines suggested by Francis Bacon and Auguste Comte.<sup>1</sup> Other proslavery writers, like William Grayson of South Carolina, joined in the common search for sociological rationalizations.

The northern counterpart to these efforts is best revealed in the work of that amazing eccentric, Stephen Pearl Andrews of New York (1812-1886), author of *A Science of Society* (1851) and *The Basic Outline of Universology* (1872), the latter term coined by Andrews as a partial synonym for sociology. Just as the southern "sociologists" sought their basic principles in a traditional and authoritarian group structure, so their opponents frankly sought the iconoclastic ideas of eighteenth century rationalism. While the southerners preferred a strong tincture of neo-medieval romanticism, the northern sociologists tended towards another romanticism of a naive anarchistic type. The extreme individualism of the latter was epitomized in the work of Andrews and accentuated in many respects in later years by Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner. Ultimately the popular individualistic tendency of nineteenth century industrial America was to receive the classic rebuke of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes that "The Fourteenth Amendment does not reenact Mr. Herbert Spencer's Social Statics."

Stephen Pearl Andrews was born in Templeton, Massachusetts on March 22, 1812, the son of a Baptist clergyman and revivalist. After graduating from Amherst College, he moved to New Orleans, eventually becoming a wealthy lawyer and

<sup>1</sup> See the writer's brochure, *George Fitzhugh, Conservative of the Old South* (Charlottesville, Va., 1938); A sociological treatment of Holmes also by the writer appeared as "George Frederick Holmes and the Genesis of American Sociology" in the *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1941; For Hughes see L. L. Bernard, "Henry Hughes, First American Sociologist," *Social Forces*, XV (1936-37), 154-174.

slaveholder. The crisis of his life appears to have centered about his conversion to abolitionism; subsequently his activities as an abolitionist leader in the then Republic of Texas and in England brought him official attention both here and abroad. During these years his restless encyclopedic mind brought forth several textbooks in phonography which introduced the shorthand system of Sir Isaac Pitman to the United States and also various studies in philology. Upon his return, his work on the Chinese language, which paralleled similar investigations in Latin, Greek, and Sanscrit, even brought him an international reputation as a Chinese scholar.<sup>2</sup>

As an active member and orator of the abolitionist Liberty Party, Andrews came in contact with the whole bewildering intellectual ferment of contemporary reform and its leaders. Bloomerism, Mormonism, Spiritualism, Fourierism, socialism, philosophical anarchism, and hosts of other panaceas of all types were in the air. European revolutionary movements, constantly discussed in the press, seemed to presage a new era in human relations and a new social order. Out of the maelstrom came even more insistently a need for a body of scientific principles governing human society. Comte's work was as yet known only to an élite in America and even among this group the Frenchman's extravagances of expression had antagonized a potential following.<sup>3</sup>

Andrews' first attempt to achieve a comprehensive sociological system began, typically enough for that age of the lyceum, as a series of lectures delivered before the New York Mechanic's Institute during the winter of 1850-51. These

were immediately published as *The Science of Society*. Anticipating a challenge to the pretensions for such a science, he asserted

If researches into the habits of beetles and tadpoles, and their localities and conditions of existence, are entitled to the dignified appellation of Science, certainly similar researches into the nature, the wants, the adaptations, and, so to speak, into the true or requisite moral and social *habitat* of the spiritual animal called man must be, if conducted according to the rigid methods of scientific induction from observed facts, equally entitled to that distinction.<sup>4</sup>

In his early lectures he offered alleged proofs for his basic principle, "the sovereignty of the individual" as the historical culmination of the social movements in Protestantism, democracy, and socialism. From Martin Luther's revolt came the right of private judgment in matters of conscience. The British Civil Wars, the Declaration of Independence, and the Rights of Man had established the reality of inherent political and social rights. Socialism had freed the individual from social bondage, but its system of association still endangered the freedom of the individual. He found a guiding philosophy in Fourier's acceptance of the individual's rights within a cooperative milieu.<sup>5</sup> Progress must be measured in terms of the advancement of "the sovereignty of the individual," by his cumulative emancipation. Carrying this reasoning to its anarchistic ultimate, he added,

Man, standing . . . at the head of the created universe, is consequently the most complex creature in existence. . . . Hence the individualities of such a being are utterly immeasurable, and every attempt to adjust the capacities, the adaptations, the wants, or the responsibilities of one human being by the capacities, the adaptations, the wants, or the responsibilities

<sup>2</sup> New York *Daily Tribune*, May 23, 1886; New York *Herald*, May 23, 1886; *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, (New York, 1929), VI, 442.

<sup>3</sup> Richmond Hawkins, *Auguste Comte and the United States, 1816-1853* (Cambridge 1936).

<sup>4</sup> Stephen Pearl Andrews, *The Science of Society* (Boston, 1851; rev. 1888).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-11.



of another human being except in the very broadest generalities, is unqualifiedly futile and hopeless. Hence every ecclesiastical, governmental, or social institution which is based on the idea of demanding conformity or likeness in anything, has ever been, and ever will be, frustrated by the operation of this subtle, [sic] all-pervading principle of Individuality.<sup>6</sup>

Arguing that individuality, far from being chaotic, was actually a principle of order, he added that the universal scientific law of attraction which determined the precise position of physical particles, evolved likewise in the social world "a natural classification, natural organization, natural harmony, and agreement." Among the examples of this tendency, he pointed out that with the multiplication of sects grew a spirit of toleration which was "nothing else but the recognition of the sovereignty of others." The progress of the "individualizing tendency" in the state, he found in federalism, the separation of church and state, the decline of sumptuary legislation, slavery abolition, and laissez-faire. Penology would become more humane, he believed, by recognizing the futility of governmental intervention against the individual for the purpose of vindictive punishment; instead, a scientific society should emerge which would not provide a breeding ground for criminals.

Stating the case for a more comprehensive social science, he insisted that political economy alone was inadequate because it subordinated human beings and interests to mere instruments of producing abstract wealth. Ethics tended to be too much the duty of submitting to false social relations. "The Science of Society," he wrote, "teaches, on the other hand, the rectification of those relations themselves."<sup>7</sup> Ethics must appeal to men's conscience, ever a reluctant pro-

cedure, because under prevailing social conditions the consequence of their acts do not fall upon themselves, but on others. Social relations must be so adjusted that the interests of men are sufficiently individualized to make the consequences of their acts bear upon them directly.

Andrews did not profess to know altogether how his new scientific world was to be attained, but the development of his science of society, he felt, would ultimately provide the answers. But it must be *science*. "Neither the ardor of piety, nor the sentiment of brotherhood, nor the desperate devotion of generous enthusiasm, nor the repressive force of a rigid morality offers any adequate remedy for the existing evils of humanity."<sup>8</sup> He saw a major beginning made toward this end in the writings and practices of Josiah Warren, author of *Equitable Commerce*, a New England leader of the co-operative movement.<sup>9</sup> Warren, an associate of Robert Dale Owen of New Harmony, opened a cooperative store in 1847 upon the principle of "Cost, the limit of price," which provided an elaborate scheme of sale and specialization of labor by the exchange of labor units on the basis of the number of hours involved in the production of each commodity. Warren and Andrews became intimate friends during 1850 and thereafter the latter ardently advocated a distributionist philosophy as an auxiliary of his system.

In 1853, Andrews aroused considerable public attention by his journalistic duel with Horace Greeley of the *New York Tribune* and Henry James, father of the famous brothers, William and Henry James. When the *Tribune* suddenly terminated the discussions after the general tone of these had become increasingly

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 46-47.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.

<sup>9</sup> William Bailie, *Josiah Warren: The First American Anarchist: A Sociological Study* (Boston, 1906), 1-7. ✓

unconventional, Andrews replied by publishing them in a pamphlet, "Love, Marriage, and Divorce and the Sovereignty of the Individual." Marriage, he argued, was a legal union whose basis was force and hence responsible for the twin products of bigamy and adultery. This compulsory form of marriage, when lacking the automatic recourse to divorce, was to him merely prostitution. Taking issue with the prevailing concept of sexual purity, he redefined the phrase as meaning "that kind of relation, whatever it be, between the sexes, which contributes in the highest degree to their mutual health and happiness, taking into account the remote as well as the immediate results."<sup>10</sup> He proposed "unitary nurseries" for children as a measure contributing to effective social education for the child in a scientific order as well as greater freedom for the parents. This training, together with the abolition of arbitrary institutions, should eliminate crime and create a new social basis of order as a substitute for the current chaos. Each individual would possess "the most scrupulous deference for the absolute freedom of every human being."<sup>11</sup> The new social science, he felt, would determine to what extent a useful analogy for mankind could be constructed from Newton's principle of attraction and provide a regulating force for "the whole affectional and social sphere." This method of achieving social harmony he attributed in part to Fourier, whom he regarded as "the most remarkable genius who has yet lived."

The following year George Fitzhugh published his *Sociology for the South* simultaneously with the appearance of Henry

Hughes' *A Treatise on Sociology*. Fitzhugh, particularly, regarded Andrews as possessing considerable intellectual power and originality of thought, but pounced upon his writings as typical of the subversive ideas of northern society.<sup>12</sup> In this volume, and in subsequent essays, Fitzhugh took as his point of departure Andrews' contention that economic laissez-faire as existing in contemporary society embodied a spirit of warfare inimical to the welfare of the individual. Andrews, it will be noted, while an extreme individualist in analyzing social problems, believed in a cooperative framework for a regenerated society.

The New Yorker attributed considerable importance to the sociological work of Fitzhugh and George Frederick Holmes, despite their differences over slavery, dubbing their work, "The New School of Philosophy." Writing to Fitzhugh in 1855, he professed active collaboration in a forthcoming work,

A new philosophy, *our* new philosophy, broad enough to cover North and South, to neutralize factious demagoguism against the institutions of one section, to enlighten and liberalize all sections, to quicken lagging conservatism of the South into reform in its own way, and adapted to its own wants, and to give the reformers of the North quite enough to attend to at home.<sup>13</sup>

In another letter to Fitzhugh, Andrews declared that the great problem of the "incipient science of sociology" was a scientific reconciliation of the antagonistic principles of freedom and order. This comment was supplemented by an invitation to Fitzhugh and Holmes for a day's conference either in New York or in Richmond.

<sup>10</sup> Stephen Pearl Andrews, *Love, Marriage, and Divorce and the Sovereignty of the Individual* (New York, 1853), 17.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 66-68; see also Austin Warren, *The Elder Henry James* (New York, 1934).

<sup>12</sup> George Fitzhugh, *Sociology for the South* (Richmond, 1854), 21-22.

<sup>13</sup> S. P. Andrews to George Fitzhugh, January 19, 1855, George Frederick Holmes Letterbook (Ms. in Duke University Library).

The meeting between Fitzhugh and Andrews took place in New York during March, 1855. Holmes was unable to attend but wrote an opinion of Andrews' work which the author declared contained the best critique of his book that had been written. Fitzhugh found Andrews "highly intellectual"; but his distant kinsman, Gerrit Smith, the abolitionist, warned the Virginian that Andrews was "all intellect," implying that he possessed little moral character.<sup>14</sup> Although few tangible results came from the meeting, Fitzhugh adopted and frequently quoted Andrews' arguments as to the chaos of free society in the North and in Europe.

What became, undoubtedly, Andrews' most ambitious work appeared in 1872 as *The Basic Outline of Universology*. This compendious work was evidently intended to supersede Comte's sociological system. "Universology" meant an all-embracing science of sociology together with studies in the natural sciences which would be integrated along lines suggested by the most famous minds of the past and present. He borrowed the complex nomenclature of Kante, Comte, Fourier, J. S. Mill, Spencer, Buchanan, Swedenborg, Hegel, Aristotle, Plato, and others, and developed a bristling array of such terms as "scientoid," "pseudo-reconstructive," "philosophoid," "systatic," "naturoid," and "artoid." Beginning with an independent classification of the sciences, frankly inspired by Comte, he explained the difference between their respective positions.

The Objective Method of Comte *coincides and* corresponds with what I mean by the Natural Order, and his Subjective Method with what I mean by the Logical Order; but the two sets of terms are, by no

means, synonymous, and must not be mistaken for each other. By the Objective Method, he intends, indeed a Procedure from the World to Man, practically limiting this term, however, to Man concretely considered, as the Individual or in Society. He does not carry the Procedure back of Man, the concrete Embodiment, to Mind, the Abstract Entity, and therein to the Necessary Laws of Thought, as also the Necessary Laws of Being and the Universal Logic; from which in turn can be traced, in true Logical Order, proceeding outwardly, an Ideal Evolution of the Actual Universe or World, including Man himself, as a portion of it, in so far as he is a concrete Object. In other words, he omits or fails of any Metaphysico-Logical Basis for his scheme of Philosophy.<sup>15</sup>

He noted that his early principle of the "sovereignty of the Individual" taken from Josiah Warren had been developed subsequently by John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer. "Comte, on the other hand," he wrote, "with no attempt even at any adequate discrimination, leans, by his natural affinities, wholly to the opposite extreme. He explicitly denies Rights to the *Individual* in Society altogether. He affirms that Society alone has Rights, and that the Individual has Duties to perform only."<sup>16</sup>

His voluminous work contained an amazing mixture of scientific and pseudo-scientific ideas in a curious series of syntheses which would appear almost hopeless to the modern social scientist. Phrenology and spiritualism, for example, were given a role in all seriousness in Andrews' concatenation of the sciences. The two major aspects of his "system" were implied in the terms "social integration" and "Pantarchism." These he defined,

Social integratism is the Theoretical, and Pantarchism the Practical Co-ordination, Combination and Co-operation of a true Social Organization—the Reconciliation of all opposites, the Integration of all Partialisms and Extremes. Pushing Individualism to

<sup>14</sup> George Fitzhugh to George Frederick Holmes, March 27, 1855. *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> S. P. Andrews, *The Basic Outline of Universology* (New York, 1872), 211n.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 30-31.



its Ultimates along with Warren, but only as a Basis, they accept and magnify along with Comte the doctrine of Leadership or Social Pivots—the true Aristocracy of Talent, Goodness and Power for the accomplishment of Good—as an essential condition of Society at large.<sup>17</sup>

Andrews' pantarchical scheme, in its practical aspect, attempted to create a harmonic basis among nations by furnishing as international language, "Alwato," the spiritual predecessor, apparently, of Esperanto. The individual was provided with principles suitable for work, recreation, and achievement in various fields. In New York City, for example, a group of intellectuals, under the leadership of Edward F. Underhill of the New York *Tribune* established a cooperative home under "pantarchic" auspices with its formula based on an analogy drawn from the solar system and a pivotal, almost god-like, position given to Andrews himself.<sup>18</sup> The publication of Andrews' book on "universology," which would have been inconceivable as a commercial venture, became a realization with the financial contribution, particularly, of a wealthy follower, Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, and some one hundred and fifty other subscribers which included the well-known Peter Cooper, David Dudley Field, and E. L. Youmans.<sup>19</sup>

As Andrews advanced in years, he became increasingly fantastic in his projected innovations, including a weird notion of an all-sufficing motive source, "vital power." John T. Trowbridge, the popular novelist, who knew Andrews well, insisted that he was "a colossal egotist and sterile pedant."<sup>20</sup> His eccen-

tricities made him *persona non grata* to many professional scientists, although he carried on a series of learned conferences in New York during 1882 with many prominent individuals of various religious, philosophical, and political views. He made numerous contributions to periodicals, particularly in law and philology, and became a member of the American Ethnological Society and the American Academy of Arts and Science.

Whether Andrews' sociological speculations have made any permanent contribution to the science is obviously open to serious doubt. In the history of this discipline, however, Andrews' work is of value in shedding light upon the formative influences in the development of nineteenth century sociology. That sociology was then in its awkward years is evident from the eccentric egoism of Auguste Comte, whose "cult of humanity" bears a marked resemblance to Andrews' pantarchic system. Misleading analogies from the natural sciences were almost as common to Herbert Spencer as to Andrews. William Graham Sumner, in his extreme rationalizing tendencies, even went beyond Andrews in his application of *laissez-faire* ideals to the problems of society. It is clearly apparent to the reader of Fitzhugh's *Sociology for the South* and of Andrews' various books and pamphlets that the latter approached more closely to the modern definition of a sociologist than did the Virginian. Nor is the work of Henry Hughes of Mississippi to be reckoned as more clearly sociological than is the pantarchal system. Like George Frederick Holmes of Virginia and other contemporaries, Andrews shared in the belief that the existing intellectual and social chaos of mid-nineteenth century Europe and America awaited the panacea of a new social science which would then become the handmaid of reformers.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>18</sup> Laura Stedman and George M. Gould, *Life and Letters of Edmund Clarence Stedman* (New York, 1910, 2 vols.), I, 151, 174-76.

<sup>19</sup> John T. Trowbridge, "A Reminiscence of the Pantarch," *The Independent*, LV (1903), 499.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 501.

AMERICAN CULTURE AND THE PROBLEM OF  
PERSONAL ORGANIZATION

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ALL sociological theory stresses the social nature of man. Born into a group, the child acquires a personality only through association with others and that personality cannot function satisfactorily in isolation. The cases of "feral" children are instructive as evidence that our distinctive nature as human beings is acquired and maintained in society. It is in the matrix of society that the individual's thoughts, feelings, and actions toward objects of the environment are generated. Doubtless there are important hereditary differences between individuals in many respects but their development into traits of personality—or their frustration—takes place in a social context. Some of the habits and attitudes composing personality are characteristic of the culture common to the whole group while others are more or less peculiar to particular subgroups.

The growth of personality occurs through adjustment to an ever increasing number of groups. This process of adjustment consists of accommodation to and assimilation of the attitudes and purposes characteristic of the respective groups. Such is the social nature of man that some degree of disorganization is likely to result if the individual deviates appreciably from group standards, unless he is able to sever his connection in favor of another more consonant with his attitudes. Yet, although this solution may be possible in regard to certain subgroups, escape from the impact of general cultural conditions and trends is next to impossible.

Now there are trends in the culture of contemporary America which defy any

facile theory of the relationship between social adjustment and personal organization. In the first place, the individual is likely to belong to different groups that do not agree in their respective evaluations and interpretations of the same objects and events. Values stressed in the home may conflict with those taught in school. Organized religion is upheld by some while others may deride it, at least by implications which the young do not fail to comprehend. The competitive process places emphasis upon self-interest which goes against idealistic teachings. The expansion of secondary groups signifies a trend toward impersonality in social relationships, and modern business and government are far-flung organizations, yet ethical instruction of the conventional type encompasses face-to-face relationships only. In business the traditional organization has been relatively autocratic in its leadership (with all due regard to the recent National Labor Relations Act); but in government democratic principles are more in evidence.

Moreover, the rapidity of social change is disorganizing in tendency. It is not simply that the traditional values in all institutions are undergoing change. That is the lesson of history. But today the old and the new standards live side by side in confusing juxtaposition. More than formerly new standards press hard upon the heels of tradition. If the individual rejects the traditional standards he is not certain about alternatives; or he may reject the old ways in theory but not emotionally, for the emotions were conditioned along traditional lines in the early years of life. On the other hand, if

he clings to the old ways, there may be the disquieting realization that they do not seem to fit the situation. (Whether the problems of adolescence, the treatment of the unemployed, or the relations of government to business are considered, there are deep cleavages in the public mind concerning what is "right" and "good.")

The individual stands in the midst of these controversies, feeling the impact of cultural stresses and strains at many points. Adjustment to one group often means maladjustment elsewhere. Under such conditions mental conflict is likely to result as the psychological counterpart of social disorganization. Within his own personality the battle is waged.<sup>1</sup> There are various mitigating factors, however. Individuals do not participate equally in the culture and, other things being equal, conflicts are likely to increase in proportion to the extent of such participation. In addition, compartmentalization of the group selves constituting the social personality prevents the clashes that would result if an effort were made to organize the separate segments into a systematic and consistent whole. (Finally, where compartmentalization does not prevent the obtrusion of conflicts, rationalizations are resorted to, many of these being supplied ready-made by cultural ideology.)

There is another societal trend that has exerted a disorganizing effect upon personality, namely, the breakdown of community solidarity in the larger cities. (In these vast urban aggregations the sense

of "community" tends to become progressively attenuated. So intimate is man's dependence upon his social environment that the unification of the personality is dependent upon unity in the surrounding world and the metropolis does not have the communal integration that sustains psychological integration. Even the political boundaries of metropolitan areas are traditional and arbitrary rather than functional; for example, those living in outlying communities who spend the entire working day in the city cannot vote upon issues that affect them vitally. There is, of course, a real interdependence among the specialized groups of the metropolis. Yet this perception of interdependence may occur intellectually without a *felt sense* of unity. The result has been attenuation of the community sentiment until the pronoun "we" as applied to ourselves and several million others acquires a purely formal meaning. City dwellers often do not know their neighbors and most of their social contacts are more or less impersonal. Family and friends remain on a more intimate basis but these are often modes of escape from urban complexity rather than an integral part of an urban community. The total psychological effect is a gnawing sense of loneliness and insecurity, aggravated by the highly competitive struggle wherein man is separated from man by jealousy and suspicion. The manner in which Americans move from place to place also breaks the continuity of the social bonds attaching the person to the community. (Under these conditions the individual tends to be thrown back upon a small world of personal affairs, socially detached and indifferent to problems of the community.)

Yet community disorganization extends beyond the boundaries of the metropolis. Economic and political adversities have

<sup>1</sup> Since the approach here is sociological, the analysis does not include the sources of conflict stressed by psychoanalysis. The latter must be included in a more complete picture but each field has its own level of abstraction. Cf. Franz Alexander, "Psychoanalysis and Social Disorganization," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLII (May, 1937), 781-813.



disrupted the community in the larger sense of national and world affairs with resultant anxieties, confusion, and despair. Human existence has always been fraught with hazards but in our day these have attained extraordinary proportions.)

## II

(Organized religion attempts to supply this sense of unity and meaning. The church provides a cause that enables the individual adherent to assimilate a purpose larger than himself.) Collective rituals and ceremonies produce a unity of sentiment, a sense of fellowship, and this *rapprochement* is commonly interpreted in mystical and supernatural terms as the pervasive presence of God.) Moreover, religious ideologies contain answers to questions that puzzle human curiosity perennially: the origin of life, the significance of existence, the meaning of death.) Bewilderment at the course of events is softened by the attitude that "there is a divine purpose at work in the universe even though God does not choose to reveal it to finite minds.) It is said that all things work together for good. If sins are not punished here, penalties will surely be inflicted in the hereafter. It is obvious that those who assimilate such an ideology buttress themselves against uncertainty and disorganization—though in the process the intellectual curiosity productive of new knowledge is effectively stifled.)

However, although it is difficult to cite conclusive evidence of a scientific character, it appears that the traditional concepts of organized religion have lost considerable support in recent decades.<sup>2</sup> There are two main reasons for this tendency. In the first place, the process of

differentiation has led to the growth of new activities and organizations competing with the churches. (More and more the church becomes a special institution in a secular community instead of an influence pervading all institutions and, as such, it must compete with newer forms of recreational activity made possible by the applications of science.) Secondly, science has been a more direct force in the apparent decline, for the naturalism of science has diverted attention from the supernaturalism of the church.) Every embryonic science in its turn has encountered the hostility of organized religion.) The struggle between naturalism and supernaturalism began with the physical sciences and in the end these won their independence from ecclesiastical control. Later, in the time of Darwin, the conflict shifted to biology where it culminated in the famous Scopes trial.) Today the social sciences often encounter opposition from conservative religious groups who would deny to science the right to investigate certain areas of society, especially those involving sex or religion itself.) Yet here, too, the opposition seems to be crumbling. In all these instances we witness the expansion of the scientific orientation. While it often happens that the physical scientist accepts the naturalistic viewpoint in the laboratory along with a supernatural metaphysics in his approach to social phenomena, such a convenient compartmentalization of thought, though possible, is much more difficult for the social scientist who employs the naturalistic approach to his particular field of study, namely, society itself. In our day the scientific approach to society has gained in popularity over the otherworldly orientation of traditional religion. Thus, supernaturalism is neg-

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Clifford Kirkpatrick, *Religion in Human Affairs* (Wiley, 1929), chap. XI. *Recent Social Trends in the United States* (McGraw-Hill, 1933), pp. 397-414.

lected in favor of secular forms of thought rather than subject to direct refutation.

### III

Up to this point an attempt has been made to indicate certain major trends that exert a disorganizing influence upon personality in our culture. It has been shown how conflicts in *mores* and ideals work against integration of the personality, although due consideration is given to mitigating factors such as limited cultural participation, compartmentalization, and rationalization.<sup>3</sup> Community disorganization in the modern metropolis has been stressed as another disorganizing force. Here the reference is not merely to conflicts in values but to the attenuation of community-mindedness as compared with the smaller communities of the earlier period. In spite of these societal tendencies it is conceivable that personal disorganization could be prevented by attachment to the system of meanings advocated traditionally by organized religion. However, the apparent decline in the influence of the church has been noted.

### IV

Each of us is faced with the problem of working out a *modus vivendi* in the midst of the trends just described. Aside from compartmentalized adjustments to situational demands, there are other types of personal accommodation and assimilation to be considered. Escapism is one type of accommodation. Critics of organized religion speak disparagingly of its escape

mechanisms, the diversion of attention from the social environment to the supernatural. The "eternal verities" of religion are lauded—and criticized—for this very quality of aloofness from the affairs of everyday life. Yet one cannot fail to emphasize the appeal that religion makes to the imagination. It is said that the fundamental meaning represented by many primitive terms for "supernatural" is the existence of wonderful power, free from the limitations of material causation, "a voltage with which the universe is believed to be charged."<sup>4</sup> That this conception is pleasant to contemplate, especially in times of personal and social stress, needs little elaboration.

There are other types of "escape," however. Segmental participation in the total social structure by virtue of class, occupation, religion, race, sex, age, community or other group memberships enables the majority to avoid the conflicts resultant from fuller participation. Nor should individual differences in intelligence and education be overlooked in assigning reasons for degree of cultural participation. It is because of this segmental participation that the majority of people in a heterogeneous culture are able to function effectively. Through the development of attitudes consistent with function and status, conflicts are further avoided. The idealizations of art and literature may constitute an escape, filling the imagination with images more pleasant than those evoked by the newspapers. The appeal of escapism goes far to account for the popularity of the motion pictures. Certain artists have taken up residence in semi-isolated rural settings, seeking to capture the simple life before it yields to the onslaughts of

<sup>3</sup> It is the problem of psychology and psychoanalysis to account for the fact that certain individuals can avoid conflicts by means of compartmentalization and rationalization while others experience some degree of disorganization under similar conditions. The former can adjust to situational demands irrespective of implicit conflicts in values but the latter cannot.

<sup>4</sup> Franz Boas, *General Anthropology* (D. C. Heath and Co., 1938), chap. 14, "Religion," by Ruth Benedict, especially pp. 628-635.

modernity and, in capturing it, to find personal unification. Critics tend to be too harsh with the escapists and their modern substitutes for the monastery, for such persons are simply trying, in their own ways, to work out a set of accommodations.

# V

In recent years various proposals have come forward for the development of a humanistic faith as the solution to the quest for personal organization. This particular type of suggestion is directed to those who seek unity through attachment to an ideal, to a purpose more comprehensive in scope than the purposes of ordinary, practical self-interest; consequently, its appeal is limited. There are many definitions of "humanism" but in the remarks which follow only one of these is considered because of the limitations of space. A few years ago John Dewey set forth the articles of his own humanistic religion.<sup>5</sup> He believes that traditional religions have institutionalized the religious element in experience to the point where the organized churches must be considered as obstacles to further religious development. The "religious" is defined as the ideal elements in experience, manifested in friendship, art, good citizenship, and in cooperative efforts to improve the human lot. "Ideals" are goals which, though never completely attained, set the direction of intelligent effort. His religion possesses a natural piety, an identification of the individual with the processes and objects of the natural world rather than the belief that man is above nature. Man is dignified by the endeavor to utilize his intelligence in the naturalistic setting of his existence and not in any sense de-

based. Moreover, the unification of the self is achieved, not by focussing upon a supernatural realm in isolated contemplation, but through imaginative identification of man with his fellows.

An important article of this faith is acceptance of the method of intelligence as the means of improving society. While this statement of faith can hardly fail to be genuinely impressive, there are obstacles to diffusion which its distinguished advocate does not seem to consider. (We shall deliberately ignore the whole problem of biological obstacles and eugenical programs for the improvement of original nature, turning to the cultural factors.) Anthropology has placed the other social sciences in its debt by revealing the flexibility of human nature, that is, how human characteristics vary significantly from culture to culture. Such studies seem to justify the postulate that the general run of human beings is capable of developing a higher degree of rationality within a more socialized framework of reference, *given appropriate conditions for its nurture.*

Yet this point deserves emphasis. Let us simply grant the assumption that Dewey's humanistic faith represents contemporary human nature at its ethical best; nevertheless, it must be emphasized that the social process is commonly not conducive to the production of the "best." Indeed, it is not too much to state that the Ideal Society is a necessary social condition for producing a large number of persons possessed of the detachment and intellectual - emotional discipline upon which such a faith is based. Actually, the child is trained through association with adults whose personalities are likely to show various sorts of blights. He also learns that self-interest of a practical sort is appropriate to a competitive situation where status and possessions are hard to

<sup>5</sup> John Dewey, *A Common Faith* (Yale University Press, 1934).



get and hard to keep. Implicit in the humanism sketched above is the principle, "every one for every one else," while the traditional individualism of America stresses the principle of each man for himself. Indeed, sociological theory seems to have over-emphasized the process of socialization to the neglect of the limits set by our culture in this respect. It is true that economic adversity has led to certain modifications in this individualism in such matters as unemployment relief and social security, but it is easy to exaggerate the extent of the change in the *mores*. Individual rights have been stressed while the concept of social responsibility has not been popular. Individual success in the face of adversity is admired and small attention is paid to the problem of reducing certain types of adversities. Individual effort is considered a primary factor in securing status without an adequate recognition of the circumstances that cause frustration of ambition and "laziness." Add to this the isolating influences of jealousy and suspicion wrought by intense competition and the limits of socialization become more apparent.

In recent years the social studies have gained more attention in the schools but this trend, although quite conducive to the expansion of social orientation, is not adequate in itself. The child secures his early socialization in small primary groups marked by intimate personal relationships. Unless a steady and consistent effort is made in all educational agencies of the community to carry the process further, the child's perspective is likely to be of a delimited, concrete, personal type. In the family, for example, such an effort is commonly lacking. Family loyalty often exists to the exclusion of the rest of the community and laws regulating the inheritance of property

represent an objective index of this family-centered orientation of the culture. The churches, especially the Protestant, stress the concept of a supernatural Being toward whom the worshipper assumes a private and personal relationship. Newspapers give the personal side of the news rather than a systematic and abstract interpretation of current events. Accordingly, we can begin to understand the popular tendency to accept simplified explanations of social phenomena. (Crooked bankers brought on the depression; a particular political or labor leader is the basic cause of labor unrest, etc.) The schools are important agencies in the development of a broader sociological orientation of thought but there are limitations placed upon their effectiveness by conflicting tendencies in other institutions, especially in view of the control exercised by the local community over the educational process.

There are many varieties of reformers and humanitarians in society at large who claim to have a "social" point of view. Such persons possess causes which they believe in passionately and, in so far as they do, personal organization around a dominant purpose results. Yet it cannot be assumed that such an approach to society is consistent with the scientific humanism under discussion—the contrary is frequently the case. Leaving aside those philanthropic and charitable activities where money or personal services are contributed, let us consider the orientation of reformist movements offering "solutions" to certain social problems. Now if an individual believes in a program of reform to which he is attached emotionally, it is obvious that he is likely to make optimistic predictions of the social benefits to be gained. The sociologist must realize that the reformer's statement of the case is quite partial and

fails to take into account those consequences in other directions that do not suit his purpose. Did the feminists of an earlier generation anticipate the complex results of the "emancipation" of women? Did those who denounced "demon rum" foresee political corruption and racketeering? In reality the results of reform seem to be less effective in those directions anticipated by their respective advocates and far more effective in other unanticipated directions. All in all, such reformers have achieved psychological organization around a dominant purpose at the expense of sociological understanding and the emotionality of their approach is revealed in many ways.

Dewey's humanism places primary emphasis upon science as "the method of intelligence" but, lest high hopes be raised for this method in the social sciences, a final difficulty is noted. The scientific method is not sacrosanct; it simply represents a disciplined procedure for acquiring knowledge. In the social sciences its field is severely limited in accordance with current standards of objectivity. While the scientific attitude is zealously cultivated by its specialized devotees and thus may be considered as the faith of a handful of intellectual workers, its appeal is esoteric in relation to society in general. Even the scientist must go beyond the delimited results of research in the quest for social guidance, for only social philosophy, as distinguished from social science strictly defined, essays to cope with the inevitable problems of value implicit in any attempt to construct a positive system of belief. The task of contemporary social science is critical and analytical, not constructive in the broad sense. Its orientation is pluralistic whereas the problem here is the monistic urge to discover a unified system of values.

Thus, it is necessary to view critically some of the articles in the faith of humanism. Various limitations set by our culture to the diffusion of humanism have been discussed, including the difficulties encountered by the system of education functioning in such a context. Furthermore, judged by the standards of scientific humanism, the faith of many social reformers was found to be inadequate. Finally, the limitations imposed upon social analysis by strict adherence to scientific method have been presented briefly. It is not the intention to maintain a counsel of despair in regard to the faith outlined by Dewey. As a statement of personal religion, it is worthy of careful consideration and doubtless articulates the philosophy of an important group of educated persons in America today. Nevertheless the problem must be interpreted against a background of functioning human beings in a functioning culture if we are to appreciate the obstacles to its diffusion.

## VI

Totalitarianism has its own approach to the problem of unifying the group and the individual about a system of dominant purposes. Their ideologies challenge not only the concepts of democracy but also the authority of traditional religion, the scientific method, and humanistic universalism. Fascism and communism are social religions with a mission to "save the world" and each has its zealous believers who embrace the faith fervently. The appeal of the dictator is direct, personal, and emotional. The dictator is a charismatic leader, a messiah who promises deliverance from the confusions and insecurities of life. Those who rallied to Hitler's standard frequently experienced a sudden change of heart akin to religious conversion and thereafter dedi-

cated their lives to his cause. Strikingly similar to religious ritual is the manner in which the Russian masses file past the tomb of Lenin and the communistic practice of explaining the consistency of new policies with Marxist teachings represents a good example of theological exegesis. Here are social theologies embraced with a fanaticism equalling anything in the history of Christianity. Here is the religion of nationalism in its starkest form.

Yet while the spread of totalitarianism has raised doubts in some quarters concerning the efficacy of democratic principles (particularly in relation to military efficiency), it appears to have strengthened the democratic faith in this country. Many are experiencing a new enthusiasm for principles that had come to be taken for granted until seriously challenged. Old phrases have been infused with new meaning and vitality. It is absurd to contend that dictatorships provide no new opportunities for self-expression but, on the other hand, their repression of types of individual liberty partially guaranteed by the democratic system have served to bring the advantages of the democratic way into sharper focus.

This new appreciation of the democratic philosophy, however, seems to be confined to a small segment of the public. The new spirit is primarily patriotic, an upsurge of elemental loyalty to country. As previously indicated in the critical analysis of humanism, an understanding of social-philosophical issues is not fostered by the delimited orientation of day-to-day behavior in an individualistic culture. Americans in general do not seem to understand very adequately the philosophy of democracy. The constitutional guarantees of certain rights to the individual are taught to every school child but how many citizens (including teachers) understand the philosophical

bases for such rights? Let any college teacher test this statement by asking a class of students to explain the reasons for the constitutional protection of "freedom of speech." If the instructor wishes to play devil's advocate, he may discover that the majority will raise no serious or intelligent objection to the suggestion that freedom of speech should be so restricted that the concept becomes quite meaningless. Similarly, there seem to be few intelligent persons who understand other democratic principles and there are those who will maintain that we have too much democracy already. By comparison, the ideals of fascism are relatively simple to comprehend. In view of the present political crisis, American educators are expressing anxiety over the inadequacies of civic education in the schools; but it is not a new condition, notable exceptions to the contrary notwithstanding.

The full burden of responsibility for this condition of social illiteracy cannot be placed upon the schools, for it represents a broader cultural tendency. The limitations upon sociological and social-philosophical understanding, imposed by an individualistic culture, have been noted already. Moreover, the discrepancies between cultural theory and practice do not promote the development of such understanding. At many points the consciously articulated ideology of culture fails to coincide with the value-beliefs implicit in sanctioned behavior. The instruction of the school is mainly verbal and such symbolical instruction is often overshadowed by the indoctrination resultant from adjustment to the demands placed upon the individual by the society about him. Example is proverbially more effective than precept. All the time that ideologists have been offering verbal formulations the social process may be working on the personality in other direc-



tions. A dictatorial parent, a minister intolerant of religious differences, the denial of opportunities to meritorious individuals because of prejudice—these conditions do not teach the beliefs advocated by ideologists but another set altogether. Educators are currently concerned about the problem of inculcating democratic ideals, when the schools, with honorable exceptions, are organized along authoritarian lines from school board to class-room teacher. In society at large, people have always learned by doing. Verbal inculcation may affect the manner of speaking but working attitudes are likely to represent an adjustment to social demands irrespective of such verbalisms. Thus, aside from the inadequacies in formal instruction, there is a cultural factor of prime importance that limits popular understanding of the democratic philosophy. This philosophy would be understood more adequately if its system of values were more deeply rooted in all social institutions.

## VII

For those who continue to live in a narrow segment of the culture, the organization of personality around a fairly stable set of values is possible. These are the persons who do not move from place to place, or from class to class, and whose intellectual-imaginative participation in the newer trends of the *mores* is distinctly limited. Negatively, such segmental participation enables them to avoid many disorganizing influences. Positively, a stable personal organization is enhanced by the various purposes and loyalties that give meaning to human existence. Such purposes may consist of creative tasks of greater or less social

significance but of immense personal satisfaction. Affectional attachments to one's mate, the children, and perhaps friends may serve this function also. Both patriotism and traditional religion, as discussed above, may provide a sense of unity and purpose.

On the other hand, for those who have experienced more fully the impact of current confusion and clashes in values, that is, for the individuals who have moved out into the broad stream of the culture, the solution is not so easy. As suggested previously, such persons may accommodate themselves to social disorganization by means of rationalization, compartmentalized thinking or escape mechanisms. Like the more insular individuals, they may gain a sense of purpose through creative work, the home, friends, patriotism, religion. Yet rationalizations may cover over conflicts that continue to exist under the surface and there may be leaks among various mental compartments. Escape mechanisms enable one to avoid the full impact of disorganizing influences but the results are uncertain and it leaves the basic problem untouched. Traditional religion has suffered a diminution of prestige and the faith in humanism is reserved for an educated minority. The religion of nationalism flares up into emotional significance only during periods of crisis and its achievements are to be viewed skeptically at the very least.

<sup>a</sup> Thus, while individual and group differences must be taken into account, it seems likely that many persons will continue to experience a significant degree of disorganization; for personal disorganization is rooted deeply in the disorganization of society.

## WHAT IS AMERICAN?

## A STUDY OF ALLEGED AMERICAN TRAITS

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FEW people in America today can escape an awareness of the terms "Americanism" and the "American Way." "American" and "un-American" are on the tongues of all, but few can define what they mean by the terms. It is certain, however, that they are being used to blanket widely divergent concepts.

This paper summarizes some of the data and conclusions of a study intended as a first step toward a more adequate definition of the term "American." The study, made under the auspices of the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina, is described as a "lexicographic analysis" of alleged American characteristics, ideals, and principles. It represents but one approach to a large problem and a vast literature, and it was not anticipated that the product would be a definitive answer to the question "What is American?"

The data were obtained by collecting, from a large number of books dealing with "Americanism" or "the American Way," and from incidental discussions in other books and periodicals, all statements that some characteristic or principle is distinctively American, together with the author's evidence for such an assertion. Statements collected were limited to those alleging some trait to be American in the sense that it is characteristic of the country as a whole. The books and authors included in the survey were chosen at random and represent a wide variety of viewpoints. Both contemporary and earlier commentators are included.

When the traits were grouped according

to subject matter it was immediately apparent that there is far from complete agreement as to what is or is not American. In the case of practically every trait which one or more authors allege to be characteristically American, an opposing trait is by other authors asserted to be distinctively American, or evidence is advanced in contradiction of the alleged trait. The extent of this contrast and contradiction in the use of "American" is indicated by the illustrations which follow.

A large number of the authors, as might be expected, assert that democracy is an American institution and a characteristically American way of life. In addition to democracy as such, the alleged American traits centering around this idea range from "a republican form of government" to specific types of democracy—Jeffersonianism, economic democracy, political democracy—and special manifestations of democracy, such as lack of class, lack of aloofness on the part of the wealthy, absence of a servile manner on the part of servants, hatred of social distinctions, universal suffrage, sovereignty of the people, freedom of women, equality of all, and representation on the basis of numbers.

By no means all of the observers, however, are willing unqualifiedly to list "democracy" as an American trait. It is asserted, for example, that the Founding Fathers were almost unanimously followers of the aristocratic ideal, that the American people have always been fascinated by aristocracy, that our business

and economic life is one of complete autocracy, that we are exclusive as a people, that we have, if not class, an occupational stratification by nationality group—and finally that democracy itself is "un-American."

This contrast in opinion is well summed up in the words of Dr. George S. Counts, "The authenticity of American democracy cannot be successfully challenged. Whatever may have been its defects and limitations . . . it was and is one of the realities of history,"<sup>1</sup> as against those of Mr. Gerald Johnson, "Heretical as it may sound, I do not believe that either democracy or liberty is a fundamental part of Americanism, much less that 'equality of opportunity' which is supplanting universal suffrage as the theoretical expression of liberty."<sup>2</sup>

In the matter of obedience to law, a striking contrast of opinion appears. While one group of observers assert that Americans have a feeling of personal interest in the law and a consequent disposition to obey it, another group point out a strong tradition of "direct action," mob violence, and complete disregard of the law when it gets in one's way. The one group picture America as "a government of laws and not of men," whose citizens accomplish needed reforms by use of the ballot and are characterized by deference to law as final authority. The other group assert that our laws are poor, that they are unstable, and that we are extremely lax in enforcing them. One author combines the two points of view in his statement that we have "an outward respect for law and order combined with a secret itch for violence and direct action."

The observers find much in American

life to justify the widespread conception of America as a land of education. They profess to see an almost blind worship of schooling, a belief that knowledge is power, and an intense desire to gain that power on a national scale. In the words of Nicholas Murray Butler, we have

a never-failing faith in the power of education to promote both individual and national happiness, efficiency, and virtue. . . . The American people are almost Socratic in their acceptance of the principle that knowledge will lead to right and useful action and conduct. . . . The American people have an almost fanatical belief in education because of the practical results which they feel certain will flow from it.<sup>3</sup>

Even as early as 1835 we find de Tocqueville asserting that

. . . it is by the attention it [the law] pays to Public Education that the original character of American civilization is at once placed in the clearest light.<sup>4</sup>

But some of the observers see another side of the picture. These charge that we believe the principal value of schooling is a money value, and that we go to school only for financial gain. Others assert that we do not know why we go to school, and that we have more respect for the correspondence school than for the university. A number mention the strong frontier tradition which scorns "book learning," "culture," and the expert. It is charged further that we still have a low regard for intellectual achievement, that our standards of scholarship are low and our teachers poorly-trained, that we lack respect for teachers, that our thinking is external, that we seek information instead of knowledge, that our glorified "education for the masses" is superficial, that our business world looks with disdain on academic theory.

Both native and foreign critics, though

<sup>1</sup> *The Prospects of American Democracy*, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> "The American Way: The Two Fundamentals," *Harper's Magazine* (April, 1938), p. 493.

<sup>3</sup> *The American as He Is*, p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> *Democracy in America*, I, 40.



more particularly the latter, devote page after page to discussions of our "worship of money," our "dedication to profit," our commercialism and materialism. There are those who see desire for economic advancement as the central, almost exclusive, motivation in American society, and some go so far as to assert that we have elevated money-making to the status of virtue and patriotic duty. Our highly commercialized crime and our professionalized and commercialized sport are pointed out as examples of the all-pervasiveness of this motivation.

But there are others, and they are not confined to the native critics, who present strong evidence in refutation, or partial refutation of these alleged traits. Especially emphasized is a strong current of idealism which many observers believe runs through our history down to the present time. Another group of authors stress, as further evidence against the purely materialistic concept of the American, the things that Americans do with their money. They assert that philanthropy has reached its highest development in America and that our schools and churches are the world's best supported. Still other elements in American life which are seen by some observers as modifying or raising some doubts about our materialism include the doctrine of "service" which pervades the business world, the attitude that money-making is a "game," the widespread distribution of wealth, the relatively high standards of business honor, and the efforts through governmental action to curb the undue amassing of wealth and the growth of monopolies.

Most of the critics who see America as dominated by the profit motive see a consequent neglect of the "spiritual" side of life, including religion, literature, and the arts. It is claimed by some that

our religion, however conspicuous it may be in national life, is chiefly a "Sunday religion," which can be conveniently forgotten during the business week. Other alleged American characteristics which are purported to illustrate the relative unimportance of religion in American life are the separation of the church and state and the distinctness of the sphere of religion, the emphasis on commercial buildings instead of cathedrals, secularized education, the individualistic religion, the belief that one religion is as good as another, and the belief that religion should not be discussed in public.

Against these alleged traits stands the evidence presented by other observers to show the great influence of religion in our national life—especially the intermingling of religious issues in political and economic life, the importance of church membership in individual success, the large element of religious motivation in our history, our evangelism, and the fervor and vividness of our religious emotion.

Here the contrast in opinion can be summed up in the question whether, with Alexis de Tocqueville, we can still say that "there is no country in the whole world in which the Christian religion retains a greater influence over the souls of men than in America,"<sup>5</sup> and with James Bryce that the Americans are "on the whole, a religious people," and that in America "Christianity influences conduct, not indeed half as much as in theory it ought, but probably more than it does in any other modern country,"<sup>6</sup> or whether we must conclude that these comments are no longer applicable, and agree with a more modern observer that

We will let all Christian and even non-Christian religions—provided they are 'moral'—strictly alone

<sup>5</sup> *Democracy in America*, I, 308.

<sup>6</sup> *The American Commonwealth*, I, 290.

...with the understanding that religions let us strictly alone, too, in our everyday secular and political life. That is, with us Americans religion—as far as we have any—is a strictly Sunday or festival . . . affair. And even on the Sabbath it must not any longer deprive us (and no longer does it, in the majority of States) of Sunday 'movies' or baseball and football games, of Sunday automobile rides, or even of a Sunday glass of beer.<sup>7</sup>

There is a sharp division of opinion among the authors concerning the American citizen's participation in governmental affairs. While some see as characteristic of Americans an aptitude for politics, a passion for politics and political debates, widespread interest in and knowledge of politics, incessant political activity, and a universal indulgence in "playing politics," the same or other authors point out an indifference to political life on the part of the educated and wealthy, the absence of the most able men from politics, the poor quality of our politicians as contrasted with the high quality of the people in general, the general distrust of politicians, lack of interest in the business of the state, a remoteness and abstractness of government for the average citizen, the poor government of our cities, and the evils of the spoils system and the political boss.

Even the much-vaunted "American freedom" does not escape the doubters. There is of course strong support for liberty as an American trait, both as ideal and as fact, and many observers stress the specific liberties of speech, the press, religion, and association for political purposes. Others assert that we possess a large measure of personal freedom, that we not only believe in liberty but in equal liberty, and that we have faith in free inquiry and discussion for the solution of our problems. But there are also those who find in America a continual interference with personal

liberty, a complete lack of independence in politics, a considerable degree of religious intolerance, and a lack of real freedom of discussion and independence of spirit. In support of their position these observers point to our censorship of books and movies, our straight-party voting, our high regard for convention and conformity, and the great power of the partisan press.

Contrast, then, the point of view of Alexander Meiklejohn:

America has an ideal. It is Liberty. That is, I am sure, our deepest commitment. No one who reads our national literature, who listens to our daily speech, who mingles in the common course of our living, can fail to hear the note rising above all the others in which we express ourselves. The man who fails to find in us a deep, consuming passion for freedom does not know what we are.<sup>8</sup>

with that of Alexis de Tocqueville, who, although he wrote more than a hundred years ago, best expresses what many of the observers are still saying today:

I know no country where there obtains, in general, less independence of spirit and true freedom of discussion than in America. The majority sets a formidable wall around thought. Within these limits, the writer is free, but unfortunate is he if he dares to go outside them. . . he is the butt of all kinds of aversions and persecutions every day. A political career is closed to him; he has offended the only power that has the capacity for opening it. He is refused everything, even glory.<sup>9</sup>

Some of the commentators have another way of looking at "American freedom." They see in it a strong tendency toward anarchy. They claim that we are so jealous of our liberties that we will accept only the most limited conception of the function of government, and that we place all kinds of limitations on the agents of government. They assert that

<sup>8</sup> *What Does America Mean?* p. 71.

<sup>9</sup> Quoted in James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, II, 343. (Translation by present author.)

<sup>7</sup> Harold E. Stearns, *America: A Re-Appraisal*, p. 48.

we are quick to protect the "rights of men against government," and that we are ashamed to accept governmental employment. They point to our constant criticism of government and our humor at its expense. Their summaries of our supposed point of view range from "belief that regulation is the limit of governmental function" to "negative conception of government."

But here again the critics are by no means unanimous. Others are just as emphatic that ours is the positive conception of government. They find support for this position in the Declaration of Independence itself, pointing out that in this document we go so far as to accept as a responsibility of government the happiness of the citizen. They point to a long tradition of "reform by use of the ballot," and many acts of government, throughout our history, which they believe demonstrate that we long ago accepted the protection and security of the economic rights of the people as a governmental function.

Illustrations of contrast and contradicting opinion among the authors included in the study might be continued indefinitely. In some cases an alleged characteristic is directly contradicted by another alleged trait, both traits being supported by reputable writers who present evidence from observable fact or established sources. More often, however, the "opposing trait" does not represent a complete contradiction of the other trait, but rather the interpretation of the same set of facts from a different point of view, or the emphasizing of another set of facts. For example, our "government of checks and balances" to one observer may mean a carefully-worked-out "division of responsibility," while to another it may mean "lack of

unity in government" and undue limitation on the agents of government. To one critic our idealism may be the predominant and significant fact, while to another our "flagrant disregard and defilement of our ideals" may be the important fact.

The illustrations given above will suffice to show the wide divergence of opinion as to what is "American." It is not meant, however, to convey the impression that the evidence was found to be equal on both sides of each disputed trait or group of traits. Despite opposing evidence and diverging opinion, it was possible to make up a list of traits which were so often mentioned and so little contradicted that they may safely be assumed to constitute at least a preliminary list of important American characteristics.

LIST OF AMERICAN TRAITS UPON WHICH THERE IS RELATIVE AGREEMENT AMONG THE AUTHORS USED IN THE STUDY

- Sovereignty of the people*, characteristically exercised through *public opinion* (a manifestation of democracy that receives such emphasis as to necessitate separate mention).
- Equality of all*, a fundamental belief and in large degree a fact.
- Individualism*, rugged or otherwise, in all realms of life, but especially in the economic.
- Worship of schooling, and universal public education*—this whether the motivation be materialistic or idealistic, and despite superficiality of the schooling and a distrust of academic theory in practical life.
- Distrust of strong government*, especially as expressed in an over-emphasis on division of responsibility and "checks and balances."
- Love of size and bigness*, based on an actual fact of bigness everywhere.
- Adaptability and freedom from the past*; openness to change, and fact of constant change and revolution.
- Associational activity*, an aptitude for organization that makes Americans the world's greatest organizers and joiners, and the doing by means of such voluntary organizations of many things that elsewhere would be done by governmental action or not at all.



*Optimism*, especially as expressed in a belief in progress and a faith in the perfectability of man.

*Opportunity*, especially the belief in equal opportunity for all and the fact of much greater opportunity than in most other countries.

*Constitutional government and the great power of the judiciary*—limitation on the immediate will of the majority and the presence of a power higher than the legislature, plus the position of the judges as arbiters of the validity of laws.

*"Localism"*—local government, local patriotism, local initiative and responsibility.

*"Missionary Spirit"*—reforming others, interfering with their lives, making over the world.

*Humanitarianism and philanthropy*, sympathy for the "under-dog"—this more than in any other country in the world.

*Spirit of the pioneer and tradition of the frontier*—the strong influence of the "great open spaces" and the pioneer way.

*National self-consciousness and conceit*, incessant bragging and boasting, sensitiveness to criticism.

*Mobility, migration, restlessness*—the world's most mobile people.

*Liberty, freedom, independence*—all-important ideals and to a large extent actualities, except for some notable exceptions.

*Emphasis on money-making*, and belief that it is duty and virtue—but not money-making to the exclusion of idealism, philanthropy, and "service."

*Desire for peace and disbelief in war*, especially as expressed in pacifism, and a belief in arbitration and the rights of neutrals.

*Political isolationism*, "freedom from entangling alliances."

*Practicality*, absence of theories and philosophizing, and disbelief in them.

*Dominance of women*, their freedom and high status.

*Party government and party loyalty*, straight-party voting.

*Widespread popular knowledge and education*—this despite credulousness and a "passion for humbug."

*Glorification of the "common man"* at the expense of the "expert" and the intellectual.

*Ingenuity and invention*, high level of initiative and research.

It is difficult to set lines of demarcation between degrees of importance or the degrees to which the various traits are "proved" or "disproved." The following traits, however, seem to be mentioned less often or to attract less unanimity of support, though among the authors studied

there is nevertheless considerably more support for them than dissent from them.

*Idealism*, despite widespread and flagrant disregard and defilement of ideals.

*Prosperity and high standard of living*, widespread distribution of wealth.

*Energy, alertness, incessant activity*, love of action, craving for excitement.

*Dominance of the machine* and of applied and mechanistic science.

*Trial and error experimentation*, belief in evolutionary progress.

*Emphasis on youth*, special interest in the welfare of children.

*Gambling, speculation, chance-taking*.

*"Mass" activity*—mass production, mass education, mass entertainment.

*Protestantism, Puritanism, Calvinism*.

*"Property-ism"*—excessive emphasis on the accumulation and protection of property.

*Glorification of labor* and belief that work is a virtue.

*Emphasis on efficiency*, and fact of very high degree of efficiency.

*Freedom of relationships*, candor, openness, casualness.

The preceding list of "largely-agreed-upon" American traits does not take into consideration whether the support for a given trait came from authors who were merely describing contemporary characteristics or whether a part of it came from authors writing in each of the various periods of our history. Since some definitions of "American" exclude all traits but those which can be shown to have been consistently predominant throughout our history as a people, a separate analysis of the traits by dates of allegation was made. American history was divided somewhat arbitrarily into four periods, Pre-Civil War (to 1865), Civil War to World War (1866-1917), World War to Depression (1918-1929), and Depression to present (1930-1940). The decreasing length of the periods was determined partly by the fact that the great majority of the authors used in the study were relatively modern, but it is believed that the events and dates selected as dividing

lines between periods do represent significant turning points in American history.

For each of these periods a list was made of all the traits alleged by one or more persons writing or speaking during that period. From these lists, another list which includes all the traits mentioned in each of the four periods or in as many as three of them was made. This list differs from the preceding list of "largely-agreed-upon" American traits in that the present list utilizes the original headings under which the quotations were grouped, whereas the former list was made up of generalized statements covering a number of similar traits. It will be observed, however, that the content of the two lists is almost identical. Furthermore, when the lists for each of the four time periods were compared, no important difference between the traits mentioned by modern observers and those writing in the earlier periods of American history was discovered.

#### TRAITS MENTIONED IN ALL FOUR PERIODS:

Associational activity  
 "Democracy," and belief and faith in it  
 Belief in the equality of all as a fact and as a right  
 Freedom of the individual: an ideal and a fact  
 Disregard of law—"direct action"  
 Local government  
 Practicality  
 Prosperity and general material well-being  
 Puritanism  
 Emphasis on religion, and its great influence in national life  
 Uniformity and conformity

#### TRAITS MENTIONED IN THREE OF THE FOUR PERIODS

Ceaseless activity and agitation  
 Bragging and boasting  
 Precedence of business over politics and religion  
 Openness to change and love of it  
 Changeability  
 Separation of church and state—distinctness of the sphere of religion  
 Absence of class and class-consciousness

Commercialism  
 Faith in the common man—"the people"  
 Domination of economic motivation  
 Public education  
 Belief and faith in education and schooling, and devotion to them  
 Exaggeration  
 Disdain and distrust of foreigners, and feeling of superiority over them  
 Friendliness and sociability  
 Love of gain and pursuit of wealth  
 Good humor and kindness  
 Gregariousness  
 Haste  
 Idealism  
 Ingenuity and inventiveness  
 Political isolationism  
 Laissez-fairism  
 Liberty, a fact and an ideal—devotion to it and faith in it  
 Materialism  
 Monotony  
 National conceit—desire for praise and unwillingness to stand criticism  
 Opportunity  
 Optimism  
 Instinct and aptitude for organization, and love of it  
 Interference with other people's affairs  
 Desire for peace and belief in it; disbelief in war  
 Absolute sovereignty of the people  
 Belief in the perfectability of man and the possibilities of human achievement  
 Periodical literature  
 Widespread interest in and knowledge of politics  
 Belief in private property and respect for it  
 The protective tariff  
 Racial heterogeneity—the "melting pot"  
 Restlessness  
 Sectionalism  
 Size and bigness  
 Universal suffrage  
 Tolerance  
 Variety, diversity, and contrasts  
 Dominance of women

Admittedly this study has made no startling revelations. It should, however, place renewed emphasis on the amazing diversity of American life and character, and consequently show the hazard involved in asserting that any trait is unqualifiedly American, to the exclusion of all opposing or modifying traits. With

traditions as diverse as the races and nationalities that have made America, and with the accomplishment in a little more than a hundred years of a revolution so complete as the change from a pioneer farming country to the highly industrialized nation of today, perhaps the best that can be hoped for is a listing of whatever principles and tendencies can be found to run fairly consistently through the successive periods of American development, largely disregarding the contradictions which may be found to exist between concurrent principles and traits. Certainly

there is ground for a wide divergence of opinion as to which are and which are not the essential American principles and characteristics.

Indeed, it may be that this very diversity can be shown to be the most fundamental of all American characteristics. Perhaps this is the reason that totalitarian theories have made so little progress in America. It may be that this explains why an American can still see a place for difference of opinion on all questions. Perhaps in today's world it is the most valuable trait Americans possess.

#### SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

At the sixth annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, held in Atlanta, Georgia, April 4-5, 1941, the following officers were elected: William E. Cole, University of Tennessee, President; L. M. Bristol, University of Florida, First Vice-President; Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta School of Social Work, Second Vice-President; Coyle E. Moore, Florida State College for Women, Secretary-Treasurer. Leland B. Tate, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Laura Ebaugh, Furman University, and Harold Hoffsommer, Louisiana State University, were elected members of the Executive Committee. E. T. Krueger, Vanderbilt University was elected the representative of the Society to the American Sociological Society.

An outstanding feature of the program, prepared by retiring President B. O. Williams, was the address on Sociologists in the Present Crisis by Dr. Stuart A. Queen, Washington University, President of the American Sociological Society. Other notable speakers included: Dr. E. A. Ross, University of Wisconsin and Dr. Robert E. Park, Fisk University, both past presidents of the American Sociological Society; Dr. Carl C. Taylor of the United States Department of Agriculture; Dr. Warren S. Thompson, Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems.

During 1940-1941, the membership of the Society totaled 255, and indications are that this number will be exceeded in 1941-1942. The registration at the Atlanta meeting reached a high of 225.



## TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, Conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### THE DEFINITION OF DEFINITION\*

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OWING to the limitations of time and space this paper can be little more than an outline which defines its propositions briefly and depends largely for its illustrative material upon the discussion centering upon it. Its scope is rather inclusive because it is to be the basis of discussion from several related points of view. If the form is that of dogmatic assertion this fact also proceeds from the circumstance that it consists of thesis propositions freely open to rebuttal. For convenience of discussion I shall state my analysis of definition under six main headings and elaborate each aspect in outline only, for reasons already stated. These headings are (1) the function of definition, (2) the nature of definition, (3) the sources of definition, (4) the relativity of definitions, (5) the adequacy of any definition, and (6) implications for the sociological investigator and systematizer.

#### THE FUNCTION OF DEFINITION

The function of any definition is to abstract and conceptualize an environmental situation, an adaptive mechanism or organism or organization, or an

adaptive process in such a manner that a procedure of adjustment can be conceived and controlled with a greater degree of effectiveness and precision. This is a sociological definition of the function of definition. Each science may formulate its own statement of this function. Clearly the sociologist must study social adjustment, and all other sociological analysis is relative to this central theme of the sociologist. Definition is a process of conceptual integration which functions in rendering the knowledge of the conditions and the control of this adjustment more precise and adequately functional.

Definition is directed towards two functional objectives: (1) the clarification of one's own grasp or understanding of the adjustment situation by means of a symbolic conceptualization and economical integration of the elements or factors of the adjustment situation or of some part or attribute of this situation, and (2) the conceptual integration of the same situation or factors in the situation for their ready communication to others who are expected to cooperate in some manner in the adjustment process. The former procedure is primarily logical in aim, while the latter is directed toward communication and its functions in the process of social control.

\* Read before the Committee on Conceptual Integration at Chicago, December 27, 1940.

Definition thus becomes at one and the same time a process of condensation and simplification on the one hand and of precision and formulation on the other hand. It condenses and simplifies on a symbolic level in order that the significance and behavior of the adjustment factors and processes may come within the grasp or purview of those who seek an understanding of the situation. It conceptualizes in order that a precise formula, rule, principle, or law may be secured for purposes of control. The precision of a definition does not usually consist in the accuracy of a detailed description, but rather in that of a representative conceptualized inclusive symbolic formula which serves as a base for control operations. That is, the precision resides in a synthetic conceptualized norm which is always in some degree artificial and projective and may be and frequently is in large measure hypothetical and ideal in form. The basic functions of definitions are understanding and control, or formulation for control.

#### THE NATURE OF DEFINITION

Thus it is apparent that a definition is anything but its simplest form is always an abstraction, a conceptualization. In its lowest form definition is a gesture of indication, is the pointing out of an object, and thus bringing it definitely within the control situation or circumference. Naming the object and thereby pinning it to a locus in the adjustment area is the same process raised to the verbal level. The use of abstract nouns or names to indicate its quality is another step in definition by conceptualization. When definition reaches the stage of naming in terms of abstract quality, and even earlier, analogical definition or definition by analogy appears. On the preverbal level this sort of definition is

consummated imperfectly by means of imitative pantomime. On the verbal level it is achieved by means of metaphor and metonymy. Thus a desert may be defined to some one who is familiar with the sea, but not with a desert, as a sea of sand. Certain schools of sociologists, one of which recently centered in one of our larger universities, have been prone to define its sociological conceptions by analogy. It is an easy, but a primitive and an inaccurate, procedure.

Also on the verbal level is definition by full and detailed description of the phenomena or the objects which are significant for the adjustment process. Description of course makes use of nouns or names, verbs denoting action or relation, and of other parts of speech which qualify or relate objects, activities, and events. The descriptive definition begins in pantomime and is aided by gesture, but it reaches its fullest development with the common use of verbal language. It belongs essentially to a leisurely society still living in a world of concrete experiences, such as that of the narrative historian, the eighteenth century essayist, the novelist, and the youth of every man and woman. As culture accumulates a large mass of patterned experience, too large for verbalization and constant repetition, which might be said to constitute definition by diffused or literary description, gives way to condensed representative abstract definitions.

A better method of definition, but still relatively concrete in content, is that of condensation and simplification on a symbolic verbal or literary level. This is the usual dictionary method. Such a definition is produced by selecting those words and phrases from the detailed description which, because of the previous conditioning of the reader or hearer, will best suggest the total situation or the

detailed attributes of the object or relationship to be defined within the situation. This sort of simplification and precision by condensation depends for its effectiveness upon the accuracy with which the persons for whom the definition has been made have been previously conditioned to associate the related words and phrases with the terms of a total description. In other words, such definitions depend upon the unity of the culture, including the language, in which they are produced. Such cultural integration and the effectiveness of conditioning within it can in some measure be judged by the advent of dictionaries and their subsequent development. A people who make and use dictionaries have already achieved a large degree of conceptual cultural integration and have been conditioned successfully to standard types of overt behavior and symbolic meanings.

When encyclopaedias appear and grow to large proportions, the people, or at least their educated representatives, have not only been conditioned to standardized and simplified verbal meanings and definitions, but also to standardized systems of thought. Here we have definition on a higher and more complex level. Condensed verbal definition may be, and sooner or later is, systematized and further conceptually integrated into proverbs, principles, and scientific laws. The proverb marks the beginning of popular philosophy, which depends on some sort of accepted definition of adjustment processes in society. Principles and laws characterize a well developed and systematic philosophy and science. But exact science is not reached until the type of definition next to be described is in operation.

This sort of definition represents an advance from the method of verbal

condensation of literary descriptions—the dictionary method—to condensation by means of highly symbolic representation, ultimately on a quantitative rather than a qualitative level. But whether qualitative or quantitative, this kind of definition is achieved by means of substitute symbols rather than by direct verbal condensation. The substitute verbal or quantitative symbols which represent or stand for unabridged descriptive definition have been conditioned to their meanings and now pass current in the higher symbolic culture of the group. Thus the language of verbal logic, of mathematics—arithmetic, geometry, algebra, the calculus—and of any cult, has come to be employed interchangeably with literary description and concrete verbal symbolism, and is used by preference because of its greater economy or precision. Such definition by means of substitute symbolic condensation reaches its highest development in the mathematical symbol, equation, and formula. Obviously such definition is intelligible only to more or less highly specialized groups who have been accurately and persistently conditioned to the employment of these symbols in their thinking and communication. This may be regarded as the highest type of definition, because it is the most precise and the most economical, but it is not directly available to the poorly educated masses of the people who are in the dictionary or some earlier stage of definition making and appreciation. Only within the last few decades have our schools begun to train for the appreciation of definition and control by quantitative formulas.

There is, however, another type of definition which is functional rather than directly descriptive in character. This might be called definition by implication, or simply a functional definition. In its simpler aspects it is comprehensible to



almost everyone. In this type the definition is in terms of the function performed by the object, situation, or relationship defined, or in terms of the effects or consequences it exerts upon other related elements in the adjustment process. Thus "man" may be defined as a thinking animal, an earthquake (which really carries its own functional definition in its name) as an earth-shaker, or a machine as a power absorber. Such terms are quasi-definitions and embody the principles of verbal selection and of analogy already described. They are useful in ordinary communication because of their economy and picturesqueness, but they are usually considerably lacking in precision. Nevertheless they are much employed for nonsystematic clarification and control purposes.

#### THE SOURCES OF DEFINITION

Definitions are arrived at in a variety of ways. It must always be kept in mind that the effective stimulus to the formulation of a definition is the need to secure a better intellectual grasp on the adjustment situation through a more precise analysis and understanding of the factors involved in it. This can be done only through the development and use of some form of language device. Only through language can the thing to be defined be described or conceptualized and reduced to a symbolic simplification. As was suggested in the preceding division of this paper this method of definition is achieved through the use of gesture language, pantomime, and verbal and other higher forms of symbolic language, according to the character of the definition itself. On the level of verbal definition, whether extensively descriptive or symbolically condensed, the noun initiates the process. By the act of naming things concretely they are defined in the simple sense of

distinguishing them from other objects. When the naming noun acquires an abstract quality the attributes of the object begin to be included in its name. This marks a long forward step in definition.

The use of the verb introduces the factor of relationship between objects and factors in the adjustment process, and, as we have already stated, relationship is one of the three important things to be understood in the control of adjustments. Adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions further qualify and complicate the description of the adjustment process which is to be defined as a whole or in its parts. But they also render the definition more precise. They are the verbal analogues in definition of the multitude of facial expressions and body movements used in primitive communication and of those quantitative qualifying mathematical symbols employed in definitions on the highest symbolic level as described above. With the appearance of these qualifying symbols, at first on the verbal symbolic level in the form of parts of speech and later in the form of mathematical symbols, the process of definition is made subject to logical control through increasingly accurate analysis and synthesis of the factors and processes symbolically involved in the definition. With this brief general introduction as to the language elements concerned, we now turn to an outline account of the processes by which definitions are developed. Such an account is essential to the proper development of the last three parts of this paper.

In general it may be said that there are four general modes of developing definitions: (1) direct analytical observation, (2) analogical observation, (3) inductive generalization or inference, and (4) deductive inference. All of these methods in-

volve logical processes of varying degrees of complexity, abstractness, and precision.

The processes of definition by direct analytical observation of objects becomes or is transformed into definition when it results in indication of the object or process by gesture (pointing), by naming the object, and by describing what goes on by means of connecting nouns and verbs and the use of other parts of speech as qualifiers. These are very simple modes of definition and have been described above.

A second mode of arriving at definition is that of analogical description, as in the case of pantomimic gesture on the pre-vocal level and of verbal comparison. Pantomimic description is much used in the primitive drama and especially in magical ritualistic performances which seek to define and control human relationships to supernatural powers. Thus ritual dances are universally employed among primitive peoples for the purposes (1) of defining more clearly one's own magical relationship to the supernatural and (2) of conveying knowledge of this relationship to others and of universalizing the definition. The connection of such ritualistic definition by pantomimetic practice with control of both the supernatural and the social aggregate is of course sufficiently obvious. Modern survivals of primitive ritual in orthodox religious cults have essentially the same significance and purpose. The employment of verbal analogy for purposes of defining sociological principles has already been referred to. Professor Ross, in his *Foundations of Sociology* (1905), collected a considerable number of social laws which were obviously analogical in character. The sociologists had not yet learned to produce sociological principles and laws by direct inductive inference from concrete observation; and consequently they resorted to the analogical method of conceptually integrating their

science. Under Professor Park's leadership a school of human ecology arose at the University of Chicago using much the same method and was spread abroad. The term human ecology is itself an analogical survival.

Inductive inference is the source from which most of the definitions in our present culture arise. This method of developing definitions is strongly integrated in our culture. It may be said to have operated in four major forms historically and we shall present these forms here in the order which is both logical and historical. The first source of definition by inductive inference is that of random observation. One or more random observations provide a pattern or occurrence or a type of description which is assumed to be universal and is set up as a norm. Of course such randomly established norms are usually short-lived as definitions. Other similarly established definitions contradict them and perhaps replace them. The very multiplicity of such contradictory norms or definitions in the experience of mankind forces a transition to the second type of definition by inductive inference.

This is definition by elimination of conflicting norms, or the dialectic procedure of Socrates and Plato. This method of securing definition is still in good standing among philosophers, metaphysicians, and theologians, where perspicacity is regarded as more important than precision in definition. It has had a revival of vogue recently in those numerous parleys and discussions staged in clubs, churches, and forums and in radio programs. It has never ceased to be used in the classrooms of academic institutions, and the movement for round tables to replace research papers in some learned societies, especially of the more philosophic type, represents the same emphasis upon definition by peeling off error or dialectical discussion.

The third type of definition by inductive procedure is that of experimental measurement and direct computation. Experimental measurement embodied the first application of quantitative norms or units to descriptive definition, and its origins probably lie back of primitive dialectical discussions in tribal assemblies. But at such a period both the norms of measurement and the resulting definitions of objects and relationships were exceedingly simple. They consisted in the main of crude enumerations of unstandardized objects which produced arithmetical totals of objects qualitatively but not quantitatively similar. Thus bananas or bear skins could be counted, but there was no way of reducing size or weight of the enumerated objects to a common denominator. When linear, ponderable, and cubic contents units were established and standardized or defined, a new era of more complex definition of the three aspects of the adjustment environment referred to above was entered upon. Gradually man reduced not only his immediate environment, but ultimately the whole earth and the known universe itself to definitely measured units. This type of definition of environment by specific and precise measurement was first worked out and applied to the physical universe, and it made possible a control over nature and culture through technology at which we have not yet ceased to marvel. The methods of refining physical measurement and definition have proceeded to such a degree that they together constitute one of our most highly developed technologies, illustrated adequately by the work of national bureaus of standards.

The quantitative measurement and definition of symbolic objects and relationships has been much more difficult to develop, and as a consequence such definition has remained largely if not predomi-

nantly in the realm of qualitative verbal description. Here we have not sensory objects and relationships (such as distances, sizes, and masses) to deal with but symbolic values, such as names and their symbolic representations of invisible things that can be perceived only abstractly. While such symbolic measurement and definition began in an elementary way on an arithmetical level and advanced at a later time through the aid of projective geometry and trigonometry and analytical geometry, it first began in earnest with the development of algebra and made greater advances still both in accuracy and in comprehensiveness on a quantitative level with the discovery of the calculus. Quantitative symbolic measurement and definition of abstract social relationships and aggregate objects is now best typified by the method of statistics.

Four major processes are involved in the application of statistical procedure to the definition of abstract social aggregates and relationships.<sup>1</sup> The first of these is the definition of the data to be used in statistical manipulation and generalization. Such definition of data is achieved through (1) location or spotting, (2) quantitative measurement and (3) standardization or uniformization of the symbolic data. The second step is classification and categorization of data. The third is sampling, or the selection of uniform types of symbolic data representative of an isolated field of sociological phenomena to be measured and defined. The fourth and final stage is the generalization of the sample into principles, laws, formulas, etc.

These end products of inductive statistical generalization are, as I have said elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> never truly descriptive but highly

<sup>1</sup> See L. L. Bernard, *Fields and Methods of Sociology* (1934), Part II, chap. I.

<sup>2</sup> L. L. Bernard, "The Method of Generalization for Social Control," *American Sociological Review*, 5 (June, 1940), pp. 340-350.



ideal or hypothetical projective reductions from the mass of data surveyed and are to be used as norms for the measurement and control of undifferentiated or poorly differentiated social processes as they actually occur in unmanipulated or partially manipulated social reality. These norms of quantitative sociological definition are highly accurate although factually or experientially unreal, and they can be utilized for the reduction and redefinition of the chaotic social reality to standardized and definitely measured types of ideal social reality, just as we are subjecting more rapidly the formerly chaotic world of sensory physical reality to order and law by means of quantitative physical measurement and definition. It is thus that in both the inorganic and the lower organic worlds and the world of social relationships we use quantitative measurement and definition to transform the relatively chaotic natural into the relatively orderly cultural world.

The deductive method of arriving at a definition is always useful as a process of isolating and defining the hitherto unexplored details or implications within a wider field which has previously been characterized and defined generally. It has a crude analogy in the process of mining out the ore or tapping the oil resources of a claim which has been located and preempted by the prospector acting either on speculative inference or on the basis of scientific indications. The governing hypothesis may or may not be validly assumed, but the deductive particularizations within the general hypothesis will test its validity, just as the mining operations within the limits of the preempted claim will test the assumption of the presence of gold. Aristotle was the first to systematize the process as a check on the speculative dialectics of Socrates and Plato. It has reached marked extensions

in modern mathematics and formal logic. It is not to be despised as a method of intensive criticism and detailed definition of an assured field, but it is a poor method to employ in the creation of synthetic projective generalizations and in the exploration and definition of new fields of objects and experience.

#### THE RELATIVITY OF DEFINITIONS

This process of bringing order out of chaos in the worlds to which we have to make our adjustments by developing ever higher means of measurement and definition is made more difficult by the relativity of all sociological definition. Even in the world of lower physical phenomena, measurement and definition suffer in some degree from the disorganizing factor of relativity or uncorrelated relationships. Objects and relationships measured change character through growth, disintegration, change of location, etc., with the result that definitions once established must be revised and sometimes abandoned. But the stability of this world is vastly greater than that of the universe of social phenomena. Here not only is external change of composition, size, position, and relationships of units recurrent, but the rate of internal change of each psychic or psycho-social unit is almost phenomenal. These are some of the background factors which account for the relativity of definition of social phenomena, but the more immediate factors producing relativity of definition include among others the following.

Since definition, and especially definition of abstract social relations, depends upon language symbols, inequality of language competence produces not only differences in definition but also unequally adequate definitions. The definition itself is understood differently in different linguistic areas. No definition can travel

beyond the boundaries of a language area without translation and interpretation, and this is true somewhat within dialect and attitudinal areas. Different culture levels within the same political area also have important language variations, if not in form at least in meaning content, which affect the currency or universality of definition. Thus the cultural orientation of the individual who is subjected to the definition or makes use of it, as well as his political affiliations and allegiances, his economic status and adjustments, his geographic, climatic, and other physical locations, his emotional and intellectual preconceptions, the conflict of cultures and of personal objectives, and even his mental and technological competence, among other situational orientations, render it impossible that any two individuals, or any two groups of individuals, should attach the same meaning to any sociological definition or utilize it with the same purpose or the same energy in social control.

Yet there is a constant effort to standardize not only the form, but also the meaning, of sociological definitions. This standardization has been largely accomplished in the physical sciences, to a less degree in the biological sciences, and still less in the mental, moral, and social sciences. Success in this direction has depended on the degree to which precision and standardization of quantitative measurement have been achieved in these several sciences. With the advent of a science of sociology and with the progress of quantitative measurement and generalization in this science, standardization of definition tends to replace relativity. But we should not expect ever to eliminate all relativity of social definition, simply because we do not live in a static social order and never shall. The only area of sociological science in which we can stand-

ardize definition and reduce relativity to a veritable minimum is that of the hypothetical norm or ideal definition arrived at through statistical generalization as described in the preceding section of this paper. But even this hypothetical norm is statistically generalized from data which undergoes constant revision, as I have shown elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

#### THE ADEQUACY OF ANY DEFINITION

Making due allowance for inevitable relativity of definition as it must be constructed under existing limitations, we now turn to the problem of the determination of adequacy of definition under existing circumstances. Relative adequacy of definition depends in general upon two sets of factors: (1) the harmony of the analysis with the situation out of which the working definition arises, and (2) the harmony of the dispositions of the persons' who pass judgment upon the definition with the social situation which the definition characterizes or represents. We shall outline the first of these conditions immediately.

In listing the factors which affect the adequacy of the definition in the first instance, perhaps primary consideration should be given to the accuracy of the formulation of the definition. This we have already discussed at some length. While it is not possible to secure a strictly accurate representative definition, such an approximation to accuracy may be achieved as to render the definition useful for effective thinking and communication and as a working basis for social control. Anyway, it is necessary to proceed in rational social adjustment and control with such definitions of social objects, processes, relationships, as we have at our disposal until we can construct better ones as suggested above.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

Another factor affecting the adequacy of the definition is the sincerity with which it is formulated. This factor can by no means be ignored in a world where men are ruled by propaganda rather than by reason and where loyalty to the interest group still almost universally outweighs that to the general social order or to hypothetical norms and ideals for its improvement. The great majority of men accept the findings of objective science only in so far as it helps them realize their personal or limited group ends and reject these findings, when they carry an implied criticism of those ends. It is not surprising, therefore, that men of affairs everywhere are prone consciously or unconsciously to warp definitions in their own interest. The true corrective here is to separate the process of definition as far as possible from interested partisans and place it in the hands of detached scientists. This is going on now much more rapidly than formerly, but not fast enough.

The accessibility to facts by the definer is also a matter of great significance in the making of adequate definitions. Research institutions and research funds are helping to solve this problem, but more rapidly in the physical and biological than in the mental, moral, and social sciences. The applicability of the definition to the social situation is also very important. A perfectly good definition may be so abstracted from the situation it purports to describe or stated in such abstract terms that it cannot be easily applied in the adjustment processes of interpretation and control. This fact has called forth a demand that definitions made by the expert be translated into the language of the people and of the workers. Finally, the permanence of the definition is of importance. Usually the more general it is the longer it will last, but too great generality may emasculate much of its utility, as was indicated

above. No sociological definition perhaps can enjoy complete permanence, but it may be useful as long as it describes or represents the facts better than any other definition.

Turning now to the question of the harmony of the dispositions of those who must be guided by the definition with the social situation, it is evident that many good definitions are made in some degree ineffective because of the resistance of persons or masses making social adjustments to the terms or implied demands of the definition. Thus the economic interests, political or religious prejudices, personal or social antagonisms, previously conditioned habit sets, etc. cause people to reject the definitely prescribed values or significance of hygienic, sanitary, political, safety, moral, or other cooperative social controls. These people—and they include almost everyone at some time or in some relationship—have not been conditioned to accept either the scientific procedure of definition or the scientifically determined definition itself, or both. They are either individualists or else conformists to some authoritarian cult or system and have not yet been brought into harmony with a scientifically defined social situation. But the growth of science in dependable content and in prestige helps to bring them into such harmony.

#### IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SOCIOLOGICAL INVESTIGATOR AND SYSTEMATIZER

What has been said so far is systematic background and basis for a few conclusions or implications for the sociological investigator and systematizer in the making and promulgation of definitions. These are the implications which bear most closely upon the problems of analytic and synthetic procedure which have engrossed the Committee on Conceptual Integration during the last few years. Since I have laid



the foundation for these conclusions in the preceding discussion it will not be necessary to elaborate them here. I shall state them as conclusions and leave them there for your comment and discussion.

(1) The necessity for the construction of definitions of social objects, environmental situations, and social relations as a means to an adequate understanding and control of social adjustment processes appears to be evident. This is one of the recognized supplementary procedures of any science.

(2) All definitions are tentative and are subject to reformulation, (a) to fit the needs of new situations, places, and times, (b) to fit new facts or objective phenomena which are constantly coming into the purview of the scientist, and (c) to fit new attitudes which arise on the part of the people who make the definitions and of the people for whom the definitions are made.

(3) The accuracy and the adequacy of definitions increase and their relativity diminishes as the methods of formulating definitions improve and as the body of standardized data increases. But it will never be possible to remove all error from definitions nor to standardize them completely.

(4) In the early stages of a science it is very important to permit relatively wide variations of definition to correspond to equally wide differences in types of people and of adjustment situations.

(5) Gradually the inconveniences of such variations are mitigated by the development of tendencies for variant definitions to cancel one another, to converge and condense into compromise or fused definitions, and to become standardized on a wider factual basis. This trend is first dominant in the era of creeds and when dictionaries and philosophic systems appear. It acquires a scientific sanction when inductive generalization on the basis

of quantitative sensory and symbolic measurement is adequately developed.

(6) There is always a danger of forcing this process of standardization too rapidly, either because interest groups or hierarchies desire to produce creeds as rallying points or slogans or because a science overzealous to acquire the earmarks of maturity closes its system before its period of growth is over. In fact, this period is never over, and complete standardization should never be attempted in any science. A closed system, even when scientific, becomes creedal and sooner or later commits intellectual and social suicide.

(7) Different sciences attain quantification in methodology and standardization of definition in different degrees and at different times. While quantification and standardization are desirable in all sciences as rapidly as the circumstances discussed in this paper warrant, it must be recognized that the mental, moral, and social sciences necessarily lag behind the physical and biological sciences in this respect and that it would be unwise to allow a spirit either of emulation or of rivalry to push us too far in the direction of a closed system.

(8) On the other hand, it must be recognized that quantification of methodology and standardization of definition are the most powerful defenses against lingering elements of individualism, subjectivism, and mysticism in a science, as they influence the process and content of definition.

(9) The supreme administrative problem relating to definition, then, may be stated as that of attaining the greatest possible effective degree of objective standardization of definition without barring desirable revisions of definition made necessary by changed situations, the discovery of new data, and the modification of opinion and attitude.

(10) The question of practical procedure in achieving this balance is a problem

that can be attacked only after we reach some agreement with regard to the underlying theoretical problems I have discussed in this paper. Therefore I have not attempted to discuss this question here.

If I should attempt to state the most useful definition of definition, as the chairman has requested, it would of necessity proceed from an attempt to condense and summarize the discussion which precedes. As I conceive it, it can be dependable only if it is arrived at inductively from tested and standardized data which have been selected in such a manner as to represent the object or field of relations and processes which are to be defined. The definition must always be relative to both the manipulability of the data and the power of comprehension of the definers and of the people for whom the definitions are made. A low order of culture is capable of making and using only simply descriptive, analogical, and inductive definitions. But a

culture controlled by science produces and uses for purposes of thinking, communication, and control definitions of a highly abstract and symbolic character, such as principles, laws and formulas, which frequently establish synthetic or base norms that perhaps more adequately represent ideal projections of hypothetical fact than exact descriptions of partial and confused reality.

Thus, to put it in a single sentence, definition ranges all the way from the low level of accuracy of indicating (pointing out) an object or process, through naming and describing it in a literary manner, to various stages of symbolic condensation and functional conditioning, and ending in the formulation of an ideal hypothetical norm which is a sort of compromise between the generalization of inadequate experiential reality and a projected reality which is yet to be attained in its entirety.

## EVALUATIONS OF CONSUMPTION IN SCALE-OF-LIVING STUDIES\*

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WHAT constitutes a high standard of living? For those outlining programs of social action or seeking to better their own living this is a pertinent question. Partial answers are to be found in family scale-of-living studies. While various purposes motivated these studies, sometimes investigators have judged specific types of consumption to be desirable or undesirable for the family's well-being.

The evaluations in two groups of

studies will be considered here: (1) seventy-five studies made by bureaus of labor in various states, from 1870 to 1912,<sup>1</sup> and (2) seventy studies made by state agricultural experiment stations and the United States Department of Agriculture from 1920 to 1939. These two groups, each consisting of a large number of fairly homogeneous studies, were chosen to show the changes occurring in evaluations from 1870 to 1939.

An evaluation implies a standard of judgment in the mind of the person who

\* Dr. Margaret G. Reid and Dr. Elizabeth E. Hoyt of Iowa State College made a number of suggestions for organization of material.

<sup>1</sup> Few consumption studies were made by state bureaus of labor after 1912.

makes it. These scale-of-living studies contain two kinds of evaluations: those based on undefined standards of judgment, and those based on defined standards. The first kind of evaluation predominates among those few evaluations occurring in the state bureau of labor studies. For example, an agent visiting a home reports that the food appeared "nutritious" and the family was "comfortably" dressed. No standards are given for such judgments and another agent might express a different opinion of the family's food and clothing. On the other hand, defined standards usually predominate in the evaluations in the farm studies. Such standards are of four principal types.

1. Scientific standards, such as for nutritional content of food. The term "scientific" is usually applied to agreed-on means of attaining health and efficiency, *i.e.* the product of experimental research.
2. Quasi-scientific standards, such as for room space in housing. Ventilation and privacy are believed essential to health and comfort, but agreement on these factors is not complete enough to make room space standards scientific in the strict sense of the word.
3. Other standards, based on the advice of experts, but not called scientific. Such for example are standards for children's reading and for landscaping.
4. Relative standards. For example, the expenditures of one group of families may be compared with those of another group.

#### STATE BUREAU OF LABOR STUDIES (1870-1912)<sup>2</sup>

Many state bureaus of labor were authorized by law to collect data on the "commercial, industrial, social, educa-

tional, and sanitary conditions of the laboring classes."<sup>3</sup> But the bureaus were uncertain what questions would secure the desired information. In North Carolina employers and physicians were asked to rate the financial, educational, and moral conditions of their communities as advancing or retrograding.<sup>4</sup> The evaluations made in this instance were based on undefined standards.

A common practice was to mail questionnaires to workmen or employers with easily answered questions designed to reveal certain working and living conditions. Only a few questions were asked in the earliest studies, and one can conclude that these indicate something of the bureaus' ideas of what was important. Most frequent were the questions on home ownership, children in school, extent of insurance, membership in beneficiary organizations, and existence of savings or debt. Later on the bureaus asked the laborers to list their expenditures in detail.

The answers received were listed, often without summary, in many pages of tables. In rare cases the compiler of these tables remarked that home ownership was desirable, but the usual purpose of information on home ownership was to determine size of mortgage and interest payments as these were a drain on the family income. According to an occasional remark, education of children was important. Insurance and membership in beneficiary societies were looked on with favor as implying security, and a family with savings was believed better off than one in debt. A New Hampshire

<sup>2</sup> F. M. Williams and C. C. Zimmerman list 118 state bureau of labor studies in their bibliography, *Studies of Family Living in the United States and Other Countries*, U. S. Dept. Agr. Misc. Publication 223, 1935. Seventy-five of these are available in the Iowa State College library and were analyzed for the above discussion. It is believed these 75 studies adequately represent the entire number.

<sup>3</sup> This portion of the purpose was copied from the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics. See acts passed in Maine, Kansas, and Washington.

<sup>4</sup> North Carolina Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Third Annual Report*, 1889: 244, 1890. Also the *Fifth Annual Report*, 1891: 204, 1892.



study remarked that when families were in debt they were living extravagantly and were the cause of discontentment and strikes.<sup>5</sup> A Maine study stated that savings need not increase with increased income, but that a higher scale of living should be adopted. It was suggested that wages be increased to meet the demand for a higher scale of living.<sup>6</sup>

Sometimes an agent was sent to the communities and his remarks were included in the bureau report. One family was described by the agent as follows:

Family of 7. . . . Own neat frame cottage with three rooms and kitchen. Front rooms plastered and finished with white-coat; inside casings finished with hard oil. Rooms comfortably and neatly furnished. Ingrain carpet on floor of front room. Have organ, marble-top bureau and nice pictures hanging on walls. Kitchen conveniently furnished and kept neat and clean. Family intelligent, industrious, temperate and comfortably dressed. Home circle presents an air of cheerfulness and contentment. Paid in cash bi-weekly. Surplus earnings at end of year, \$150. Nationality, English.<sup>7</sup>

Agents were free in the use of evaluative words with regard to housing, surroundings, furnishings, food, clothing, and general appearance of the family. Such evaluative words included excellent, good, fair, scanty, dilapidated, nutritious, comfortable, nice, aged with dust, homelike. The family was healthy looking, noble looking, or had pinched faces. These evaluations were based on undefined standards, but the emergence of a defined standard can be seen in the common conception of most agents that a comfortable home meant one that was plastered and ceiled, and contained carpets, organ,

sewing machine, clothes wringer, ornaments, and other furniture.

Some questionnaires secured information on number of persons in the family and number of rooms in the house, but no attempt was made to determine extent of overcrowding since standards of room space had not yet been developed.<sup>8</sup>

Scientific standards for food consumption were being developed in 1885, for the Massachusetts report of that year included a discussion of composition of food materials and described the results of W. O. Atwater's tests of workingmen's diets for nutrient content.<sup>9</sup> Other bureaus rarely referred to Atwater's dietary studies, however.

In a few instances bureaus compared the percentage of income spent by their families for various items with the expenditures of Engel's German families of the same income class. Similar comparisons were made with findings of other state bureaus of labor.<sup>10</sup>

By 1906, according to the Maryland bureau, "experts" had set up minimum decency budgets in New York, Philadelphia, and New Orleans, varying from \$600 a year to \$1000 a year for a family of six. The Maryland bureau proceeded to set up an itemized minimum decency budget of \$742 for a family of six living in Baltimore. The method used in setting up this budget is not given, but the bureau does remark that "all estimates as to 'decent living' depend very much upon the viewpoint."<sup>11</sup>

In summarizing the concept of a high

<sup>8</sup> Families renting were usually asked number of rooms in order to determine general accommodation in relation to rent paid.

<sup>9</sup> Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, *Seventeenth Annual Report*, 1885: pt. 3, 1886.

<sup>10</sup> Kansas Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics, *Second Annual Report*, 1886: 306, 1887.

<sup>11</sup> Maryland Bureau of Statistics and Information, *Fifteenth Annual Report*, 1906: 133-135, 1907.

<sup>5</sup> New Hampshire Bureau of Labor, *First Biennial Report*, 1895/1896: 186, 1896.

<sup>6</sup> Maine Bureau of Industrial and Labor Statistics, *First Annual Report*, 1887: 62, 1888.

<sup>7</sup> Missouri Bureau of Labor Statistics and Inspection, *Fifteenth Annual Report*, 1892: 342, 1893.

standard of living as portrayed by these early studies it appears that security, education, comfortable housing and clothing, and nutritious food were desirable, but in the main defined standards for determining the achievement of these ends were lacking. Defined standards for comfortable housing and nutritious food were being evolved, however, and somewhat arbitrary minimum decency budgets were set up at the turn of the century.

#### FARM FAMILY LIVING STUDIES (1920-1939)<sup>12</sup>

These studies contain evaluations based on a greater number of defined standards than in the case of the state bureau of labor studies, for the makers of farm studies analyzed consumption in greater detail and, coming later, had access to standards set up in the interval. Recent farm studies employ more defined standards than farm studies made in the twenties.

Evaluations occurring most frequently in the seventy studies analyzed apply to average value of farm living, "advancement" expenditures, food, modern conveniences, room space, and education. These evaluations occur in a fourth of the studies. A fifth of the studies contain evaluations of social activities and recreation, and reading. About ten percent of the studies have evaluations of clothing, surroundings of the home, medical care, and insurance and investment.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Seventy farm family living studies published as state agricultural experiment station bulletins or as United States Department of Agriculture bulletins were used. These studies give a comprehensive picture of scales of living. Reference will occasionally be made to specialized farm studies treating just one aspect of consumption, e.g., food, social activities, insurance.

<sup>13</sup> This count of occurrence of evaluations is approximate because of borderline cases where (1)

A high average value of farm living is frequently used to indicate a high standard of living on the assumption that the greater the money value of farm living the greater the opportunity to achieve well-being. Such evaluations are based on a relative standard. Investigators commend the fact that families included in their studies have higher values of farm living than families included in other studies.<sup>14</sup> One study considers owners better off than tenants because on the average they have greater total amount of living "cost."<sup>15</sup> But many investigators realize that the nature of the real income included in average value of farm living must be considered before conclusions as to well-being can be drawn. Therefore other evaluations are made.

Another popular way of evaluating consumption has been to evaluate the category of "advancement" expenditures, which includes expenditures for education, reading, recreation, organization dues, travel, and church and charity. The proportion of expenditures for advancement, used as an index, may be interpreted in two ways: (1) it indicates a financial margin over and above necessities,<sup>16</sup> and (2) it is a very desirable set of expenditures.

"wholesome recreation," for example, is stated to be desirable, but the families' recreation is not evaluated; and (2) the desirability of certain types of consumption is implied but not directly stated. A study may rate homes as modern or partially modern, implying that a modern home is desirable. In most studies, however, such a rating is accompanied by a statement that modern conveniences are desirable.

<sup>14</sup> C. F. Clayton and L. J. Peet, Vermont Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 357: 120, 1933.

<sup>15</sup> W. S. Scarborough, U. S. Dept. Agr. Bul. 1404: 20-21, 1926.

<sup>16</sup> M. Oyler, Kentucky Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 301: 75, 1930. Also E. L. Kirkpatrick and J. T. Sanders, U. S. Dept. Agr. Bul. 1382: 7, 1926.

It seems that the most satisfactory, universally applicable, single measure of a desirable standard of living is the proportion of family expenditures devoted to items of advancement. . . .<sup>17</sup>

Some investigators observe, however, that the miscellaneous character of advancement expenditures precludes the idea that this category is an adequate index of well-being.<sup>18</sup> Many studies have completely abandoned this category, listing separately the items of education, reading, recreation, etc.

Scientific standards for a healthful diet are available for evaluating food, but, since an extensive study of food consumption is necessary for application of these standards, makers of general expenditure studies have usually been unable to use them.<sup>19</sup> Therefore simpler ways of evaluating food have been sought. Since housewives vary in knowledge of nutrition and buying ability, and since prices vary, the monetary sum spent on food is considered unsatisfactory as a standard of nutrition. One investigator assumes, however, that since most homemakers in the study were enrolled in home economics extension courses the diets in their homes were adequate.<sup>20</sup> One study unable to go into a detailed dietary study uses a simplified food score card for judging adequacy of nutrition.<sup>21</sup> Another study uses as a standard the rules, "Ex-

pend as much for milk as for meat, and as much for vegetables and fruit as for meat."<sup>22</sup> It is well-known, however, that many adequate diets do not fall into this pattern.

Most farm studies present clothing expenditures without comment. One study states the functions of clothing as warmth, comfort, and social approval, but no defined standards for evaluation are given.<sup>23</sup> The nearest approach to a health standard occurs in one investigator's statement:

It seems unlikely that clothing expenditures as low as \$15 and \$20 per person, which were representative of more than half the families studied, could provide clothing adequate from the standpoint of health in a climate as severe as that of the Appalachians.<sup>24</sup>

Another investigator rates families as better dressed than average, as average, and not as well dressed as average, a standard not very clearly defined but a possible approach to measuring social approval.<sup>25</sup> In two studies farm family clothing expenditures are compared with the allocation for clothing in minimum budgets for urban families.<sup>26</sup> Accepted minimum budgets are based on current clothing habits and are relative.

Evaluations of housing in these studies apply to modern conveniences, room

<sup>17</sup> J. F. Thaden, Iowa Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 238: 95, 1926. See also W. A. Anderson, North Carolina Agr. Exp. Sta. Tech. Bul. 37: 48, 1930. And E. A. Willson, North Dakota Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 271: 19, 1933.

<sup>18</sup> H. Kyrk, Iowa Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 237 (pt. 2): 68, 1926.

<sup>19</sup> Sometimes a detailed dietary study, using standards of M. S. Rose, H. C. Sherman, and others, is made in conjunction with a general scale-of-living study and published separately. See N. B. Morey, New York (Cornell) Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 563, 1933.

<sup>20</sup> R. C. Freeman and M. A. Souder, Illinois Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 372: 343, 1931.

<sup>21</sup> D. Dickins, Mississippi Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 320: 37-38, 1937.

<sup>22</sup> E. S. Jones, Georgia Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 180: 19, 1933. A valuation was placed on home-produced and consumed food in order to apply these rules.

<sup>23</sup> E. L. Kirkpatrick, U. S. Dept. Agr. Bul. 1466: 21, 1926.

<sup>24</sup> F. M. Williams, *et al.*, U. S. Dept. Agr. Tech. Bul. 576: 48, 1937. See also M. E. Innes, "An Evaluation of Scientific Opinion on the Relation of Clothing to the Health of Children," Unpublished Thesis, Iowa State College Library, 1935.

<sup>25</sup> D. Dickins, Mississippi Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 294: 8, 1931. This is a specialized study treating clothing and house-linen expenditures of farm families.

<sup>26</sup> H. Kyrk, *op. cit.*, 75. Also M. E. Frayser, South Carolina Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 299: 19, 1934.



space, and general condition of house and surroundings. Some studies classify homes as completely modern or partially modern according to extent of modern conveniences; many such studies state that modern conveniences are desirable.<sup>27</sup> One investigator considers the prevalence of labor-saving equipment to be a gauge of the standard of living because it represents the importance placed on lessening the physical labor of the women of the family.<sup>28</sup> Evaluations of water supply and sewage disposal are based on scientific standards of sanitation. Other conveniences, such as radio and telephone, are judged desirable for comfort and other types of satisfactions, a standard involving a large relative element. While evaluations of modern conveniences are frequent, only two studies consider efficiency of arrangement of kitchen.<sup>29</sup>

In a Kentucky study it is observed that "few of the houses could be described as comfortably furnished and some were without the most obviously necessary furnishings."<sup>30</sup> Such remarks are reminiscent of the agents' remarks in the state bureau of labor studies. Defined standards for such judgments are set up in Chapin's scale of social status which rates the furnishings of the living room according to their occurrence, and includes ratings of cleanliness, orderliness,

condition of repair, and general impression of good taste.<sup>31</sup>

Most studies evaluating housing mention number of persons in relation to room space available and quote a standard set up in urban studies, either 1.5 persons per room, or 1 person per room.<sup>32</sup> Another standard used is  $\frac{3}{4}$  bedroom per person.<sup>33</sup> These room space standards are quasi-scientific.

There is occasional evaluation of state of repair of the farm house and nature of surroundings. State of repair of the house is rated good, medium, or poor.<sup>34</sup> A Utah study rates the architecture of homes as adequate if there had been "some connection with architectural service."<sup>35</sup> Two studies rate landscaping on the basis of standards devised by specialists. The standards used in these two instances are not identical, however.<sup>36</sup> Ratings of repair needs and home surroundings have been more frequent in farm family living studies since the CWA farm housing surveys of 1934,<sup>37</sup> but such ratings are still less frequent than those of room space and modern conveniences.

An extensive education indicates a high standard of living, according to these studies. One investigator observes

<sup>27</sup> F. S. Chapin, *The Measurement of Social Status*, Minneapolis, 1933. A modified form of this scale applicable to Mississippi farm homes is used by D. Dickens, Mississippi Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 320: 38, 1937.

<sup>28</sup> C. E. Lively, Ohio Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 468: 10, 1930. And M. Fedde and R. Lindquist, Nebraska Agr. Exp. Sta. Res. Bul. 78: 12, 1935.

<sup>29</sup> R. C. Freeman, Illinois Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 406: 373, 1934.

<sup>30</sup> J. T. Sanders, U. S. Dept. Agr. Bul. 1068: 53, 1922.

<sup>31</sup> J. A. Geddes, *et al.*, Utah Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 288: 92, 1939.

<sup>32</sup> E. L. Kirkpatrick, New York (Cornell) Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 423: 19, 1923. Also E. Mumford, *op. cit.*, 12-16.

<sup>33</sup> See M. G. Reid, Iowa Agr. Exp. Sta. Res. Bul. 174, 1934.

<sup>27</sup> E. L. Kirkpatrick, U. S. Dept. Agr. Bul. 1466: 22, 1926.

<sup>28</sup> E. L. Kirkpatrick, *et al.*, U. S. Dept. Agr. Bul. 1214: 15, 1924.

<sup>29</sup> E. E. Hoyt, Iowa Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 281: 215, 1931. Also E. Mumford, *et al.*, Michigan Agr. Exp. Sta. Spec. Bul. 287: 13, 1937. In recent years scientific standards for kitchen arrangement have been developed; such standards require more detailed data on kitchens than usually are secured by general scale-of-living studies.

<sup>30</sup> F. M. Williams, *op. cit.*, 52.

Everywhere one encounters the belief that education in the broad sense has the effect of raising the standard of living. Formal schooling is more easily measured than general education, but its relation to standards of living may be slightly different. For this analysis no measure of general education is available. The measure used is that of grade in school finished by various members of the family.<sup>38</sup>

Other studies use indexes such as expenses for education, kinds of schools, and training of teachers. In these farm studies education is believed to indicate a higher scale and standard of living because it may increase efficiency of farm and household production; it may increase certain expenditures, especially for "advancement" items; and it may result in better health.

In evaluating amount of reading, one investigator noting an average of seven periodicals per family concludes this to be a generous amount.<sup>39</sup> Another study considers 100 books in the home a standard of adequacy.<sup>40</sup> As for quality of reading, one investigator observes a lack of general reading, especially of literary magazines, and remarks that reading should include national as well as local news.<sup>41</sup> One study commends books such as Knut Hansen's *Growth of the Soil* and Sinclair Lewis's *Arrowsmith*, and observes that in one community

The proprietor of the bookstore said that cheap novels of the most trashy kind were the only ones that could be sold. The only copy of a modern realistic novel which he possessed had been on the shelf for three years . . . many of the books in the family libraries were of that generally useless sort sold by book agents.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>38</sup> C. E. Lively, *op. cit.*, 32.

<sup>39</sup> R. C. Hill, *et al.*, Missouri Agr. Exp. Sta. Res. Bul. 148: 34, 1930.

<sup>40</sup> J. A. Geddes, *op. cit.*, 92.

<sup>41</sup> R. C. Hill, *loc. cit.*

<sup>42</sup> C. C. Zimmerman and J. D. Black, Minnesota Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 234: 28, 1927. The judgments of the bookstore proprietor and of the investigators are open to more question than a standard drawn up by

In the farm studies the only standard of reading facilities obviously based on expert opinion is one dealing with school and public libraries.<sup>43</sup>

Social activities and recreation to some extent are essential for a high standard of living according to these studies,<sup>44</sup> but evaluations based on defined standards are few. That money expenditure for recreation may not indicate its extent and quality is implied in one study inquiring whether, because farm families spent less for recreation than town families, this meant that farm families did not get their share of pleasure or that they enjoyed many things without money cost.<sup>45</sup> Another study evaluates quality of recreation in a solitary statement, "In some cases the families had patronized burlesque and other cheap types of shows."<sup>46</sup> A recent study uses a score card rating affiliations with organizations and attendance, leadership and civic responsibilities, art and recreational activities, and extension affiliations. This score card was compiled by specialists in rural sociology, music, and art.<sup>47</sup>

Although most farm family living studies contain church and charity expenditures, comments on these are rare. The chief advantage of church attendance seems to be the social experience it gives.

experts in the field of literature. In a specialized study of use of time in farm homes, J. O. Rankin refers to L. M. Terman and M. Lima, *Children's Reading*, New York, 1926. See Nebraska Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 230: 36, 1928.

<sup>43</sup> M. Muse, Vermont Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 340: 35, 1932. See reference to Vermont Commission on Country Life, *Rural Vermont*, Burlington, 1931.

<sup>44</sup> "Can a social hermit have a high standard of living?" asks one investigator and proceeds to give a negative answer. J. F. Thaden, *op. cit.*, 120.

<sup>45</sup> R. C. Freeman and M. A. Souder, *op. cit.*, 348.

<sup>46</sup> C. C. Zimmerman and J. D. Black, *op. cit.*, 29.

<sup>47</sup> E. Mumford, *op. cit.*, 21-39. A number of specialized studies on participation in social organizations have been made.

While the expenditures of various families for medical aid can be compared, such comparisons mean little without information on family health needs and care received for money spent. One investigator compares the number of family members who should have been vaccinated for smallpox and immunized against diphtheria with the number actually taking these preventive measures. A standard of one visit a year to the dentist is adopted in this study, and health is rated according to weeks lost from work through illness.<sup>48</sup> Another investigator observes that the families studied received less medical attention for the money spent than did families in other communities.<sup>49</sup>

No defined standards are used in these general scale-of-living studies for evaluating savings, insurance, and farm investment. One investigator believes the amount spent for insurance policies is insufficient.<sup>50</sup> Another study concludes that more first-class life insurance should be carried and investments should be diversified.<sup>51</sup> That defined standards for insurance are available, however, is shown in a specialized farm study on insurance made in Michigan.<sup>52</sup>

#### CONCLUSIONS

1. A high standard of living, according to the state bureau of labor studies and farm family living studies, includes security, education, comfort, and health,

with the farm studies further emphasizing efficiency, social activities, and recreation. Relatively little emphasis is given the aesthetic and religious aspects of life.<sup>53</sup>

2. More specifically, a high standard of living encompasses certain defined standards showing certain ways of consumption which make for well-being. The evolution of the defined standards can be seen in the evaluations occurring in family scale-of-living studies. The undefined standard involved in the agent's offhand remark, in the state bureau of labor studies, that the family's food was nutritious has given way to the detailed dietary standards of today. No defined standard for health in clothing is yet available, but there is a tentative reaching in this direction. Relative standards are used in the absence of standards based on expert opinion, for example, clothing expenditures allotted in minimum budgets. Some defined standards are a combination of relative standards and standards based on expert opinion, for example, extent of modern conveniences deemed essential. Variations in expert opinions embodied in standards occur (1) due to nature of subject matter, as in landscaping, and (2) due to variations in degree of expertness, as seen in the various evaluations of reading matter of farm families.

In making general scale-of-living studies, investigators have found that some defined standards, such as for food, require such detailed data that their use is restricted. Specialized studies, treating just one aspect of consumption such as food, medical aid, insurance, can apply these detailed standards and in some cases develop further standards. In the writer's

<sup>48</sup> E. Mumford, *loc. cit.*

<sup>49</sup> F. M. Williams, *op. cit.*, 57. This study refers to I. S. Falk, C. R. Rorem, and M. D. Ring, *The Costs of Medical Care*, Cost Med. Care Com. Pub. 27, Chicago, 1933.

<sup>50</sup> W. A. Anderson, North Carolina Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 258: 41, 1928.

<sup>51</sup> C. C. Zimmerman and J. D. Black, *op. cit.*, 44.

<sup>52</sup> I. H. Gross and M. R. Bosworth, Michigan Agr. Exp. Sta. Tech. Bul. 133, 1933.

<sup>53</sup> There is scant agreement on the terminology to be given the aspects or interests of life. Other investigators on the basis of the foregoing discussion might name the interests differently.



opinion a general scale-of-living study is a better vehicle than a specialized study for determining achievement of a high standard of living, because the general study treats many aspects of consumption. Perhaps the specialized studies will discover representative, easily applicable standards for evaluating consumption which can be employed by the more general studies.

3. A final answer to the question of what constitutes a high standard of living has not been found, even for those groups of families whose consumption is most frequently studied in America. In many aspects of consumption there are no defined standards for evaluative purposes,

and in those aspects where defined standards are available many such standards are constantly undergoing change.

But we really do not expect a final solution to the problem if we consider a family's standard of living to be an organic whole, in a continual process of creative change, and varying with personalities.<sup>54</sup> What we do expect, however, is to know at every stage what defined standards for evaluating consumption are available and what reasoning lies behind them, and where defined standards are lacking, why it has been impossible to create them.

<sup>54</sup> See E. E. Hoyt, *Consumption in Our Society*, chap. 28, New York, 1938.

#### MEMORANDUM ON THE SYNTHETIC PROCEDURE OF INTELLIGENCE, AS INVOLVING SOME EVALUATION IN SCIENTIFIC METHOD

(A suggestion presented at the meeting of the American Sociological Society at Chicago, December, 1940)

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Every live thought or sentence has a *subject* and a *predicate*, involving inquiry in the general form: *This is what?* The *subject* is the stimulus aspect of the judgment—some *questioned feature* of the situation viewed as arising in the environment and disturbing the previously automatic, satisfactory functioning of the experience of the person thinking. The *predicate* is the idea or concept aspect of the judgment—the (at first) *unquestioned feature* of the situation representing the habitual pattern or system of the unified experience, which is logically and ultimately the total operating, social system within which the thinker lives.

The object, end or function of the thinking process, or judgment, is to identify—become more familiar with—the subject, by locating it in its functional place in the system of experience, as a system which the thinker has found congenial and satisfactory for maintaining his essential living interests (of sustenance, equipment, information, education, morale, governmental control, fellowship and art). Whenever a subject or stimulus disturbs or challenges the smoothly functional and relatively unconscious operation of this habitual system of interests at any point, it arouses the attention of judgment to identify and place it, both logically and practically, in its functional place, so as to enable the system to carry on as an organic union.

This process necessarily involves some evaluation, first, because of the *relative dissatisfaction* with the situation containing the unidentified, unfamiliar disturbing subject; and, second, because of the *increasing satisfaction*, as the subject becomes identified and integrated (by the use of the predicate) in the going, more habitual system of experience again. *Disapproval and approval, the general phases of valuation, are always thus involved in any thinking*—whether in the slight amount involved in tasting a new kind of fruit, or in the larger amount in reaching the solution of a mathematical problem, or in the still larger amount in indicating the functional position, in society as a whole, of a new kind of social or mechanical invention. *Valuation is the sense of the degree of progress or failure in the judgment of procedure of intelligence* (whether called judgment or science) in its effort to achieve the stable, satisfactory, organic union of experience, which is the necessary ground of freedom.

Three corollaries follow (as important for our particular

time) from this interpretation of the synthetic nature of the procedure of intelligence.

1. *The effort of intelligence to secure the organic union in experience inevitably reorganizes, in some degree, the traditional customary folkways and mores*, with a modification of the predicate system, because in all genuine thinking the introduction of the subject, as a really new factor, causes reorganization and new interpretation of the old system to accommodate it. In the process the old system resists the change, but sooner or later yields in proportion to the importance of the new factor (represented by the subject) for the organic growth and union of experience. The degree of reorganization involved can be determined only by experiment; and the success of the experiment depends much on the honest willingness of the thinker to have the old system modified by the new factor (as represented by the subject) in order to accommodate all the factors necessary for the new larger union of experience.

2. *This view of the procedure of intelligence is the logical basis for the social system of democracy*; because democracy means that every person is a real factor, and must be recognized, regarded and identified as a growing, functioning agent, in the community where he resides (in its widest extent the whole world), if organic union and satisfactory order of human experience are to be attained or maintained.

3. It is because of this inherent need of intelligence to fix attention in an unbiased and accurate way upon the subject (the new factor), with its demand for reorganization of the old system (represented by the predicate), that modern science has become a powerful influence for progress, an enlarger of the whole social union of mankind, and a real champion, in last analysis, for a democratic (organic) union of humanity. But in order to operate most successfully, science needs today to give for its careful, impartial study, more attention to (select) those subjects which will more certainly contribute to the organic (democratic) union. To argue that science cannot foretell with any degree of probability what subjects are more likely to promote democratic union, is both an absurd and an irresponsible attitude. The valuation of the ends and means of life are always involved in some measure in every responsible judgment. Only this essentially democratic, responsible attitude and intent of science, widely practiced throughout the community, can provide reasonable assurance of union and freedom.

## MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Contributions to this Department will include original articles, reports of conferences, special investigations and research, and programs relating to marriage and the family. It is edited by Ernest R. Groves of the University of North Carolina, who would like to receive reports and copies of any material relating to the family and marriage.

### EDUCATION FOR FAMILY LIFE AND NATIONAL DEFENSE\*

ERNEST R. GROVES

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AT THIS moment thoughtful people throughout the world hold one idea in common. They agree that we are living in a period of crisis which is certain to bring to all of us great social changes.

I believe most Americans are of one mind also as to the chief cause of our present predicament. The first World War was so out of accord with the life that we had come to accept as normal and safely established that we were forced in order to face the ordeal to develop an aggressive idealism. Once the ordeal passed and we found that democratic civilization had not been made secure, our idealism melted away and was replaced by social and political skepticism. We were left shocked and spiritually exhausted.

This reaction was reflected in social thinking, even in social science. Instead of stressing the responsibility of sociology as the science from which the art of social improvement should get motive, insight, and guidance there was a considerable evasion of the science's only justifying purpose.

Although a trend in science is never consistent and a profession, no more than a

nation can ever be indicted, it is just to say that there was during the post-war period a dominant spirit of skepticism among students of the family and an exchange within the group of sterile criticism of marriage, parenthood, and of the family as an institution.

Recently the mood of the science of domesticity has been moving toward a more appreciative, conserving disposition. This is fortunate, for the present crisis has re-awakened the social seriousness of the American people and there is certain to be an increasing insistence that the social scientists do not use objectivity or fact-gathering to cover up a professional retreat from life. In times like these there is little tolerance for the critical, side-line observer. Facts must yield meaning, be translated into values, and brought close to the life of average men and women, or social science will be disregarded as a sort of cult rather than a science. Sociology, if it is to have a genuine function in this period of social remaking, must come closer to the experiences of men, women, and children, accept as its laboratory the living in social relationship of flesh and blood individuals, and assume the task of finding and conserving social values. This is especially true of the science of domes-

\* Read before the National Conference on Family Relations, Chicago, December 26, 1940.

ticity, the basis of sound education for marriage and the family.

Periods of crisis always uncover the strategic position of the family. When people are made socially self-conscious through confusion and suffering, they turn to the family for emotional security. This is understood and made use of by those who wish to undermine an existing society. The dictator and those who seek totalitarian programs always are forced to recognize the commanding position of the family as a source of satisfactions and of influences. We who now face the necessity of defending our way of life need to ferret out the family policy of our social enemies that we may the better build our protective program.

The dictator cannot hope to maintain his system unless he can get at the family by the following tactics:

1. There must be invasion in as great a degree as possible of family privacy. This must be accomplished by legislative restrictions, administrative inspections, and the creating of a fear that will even operate within the home. An atmosphere of suspicion and of spying neighbor against neighbor as a means of establishing personal security and prestige has to be generated by the familiar processes of mob psychology.

2. Every effort must be made to standardize family experience. Individuality itself becomes a menace to the totalitarian scheme and is treated as a crime. A constant attempt is made to lessen both the natural differences between families and the free expression of personality.

3. Out-of-the-family control of the child and of youth is developed to the greatest degree possible. The school and various kinds of organizations for children and for youth are used to build sentiments, habits, and commitments that will command the emotions of children and youth and lessen

any conflicting influence the family might normally have in encouraging the child to develop his unique personality free from social prejudice.

Our social and political philosophy of life, if it is to meet successfully internal or external attack, must be built upon a self-conscious, emotionally cohesive, militant family life. The assault upon our social order can only be met by a defense that includes helping people to discover and realize in their personal experiences the values of vigorous, self-directing family life.

Our greatest resource for bringing this about is education. The family, however, needs more than indirect, casual, contingent attention. Its significance for human stability and welfare justifies the making of its values the core of all educational activities. The family or the state must be sovereign educationally, and if the latter, a totalitarian scheme of life becomes sooner or later inevitable. The only security against political tyranny is the insistence of public opinion that the state protect and minister to values that it does not itself define or impose. The family is the only social institution by its nature human enough, that is, sufficiently responsive to spontaneous motivation, safely to be entrusted with the chief responsibility for the making and transmitting of social values.

Any educational program that seriously attempts to conserve the family will include at least the following:

A recognition of the co-equality of family and school in the instruction, in the subject matter, and especially in the practices of the public schools. The trend has clearly been toward making the schools a self-contained system. Domestic interests and domestic values have been largely ignored. Each period of school training has been chiefly made preparatory to the



next. Among the evidences of this failure to do justice to family values the most obvious are:

Refusal to build the school program upon the principles of child growth. Although body development is by nature's decree the supreme purpose of childhood, this fact has not influenced the task put upon the eye or the nervous system, for example, by either the requirements or practices of the schools. The sciences of pediatrics and psychiatry that should especially influence the school processes have instead contributed little. The impulses of normal parenthood, uncoerced by pedagogic pressure, tend to recognize and strengthen the individualism of the child and to seek accomplishments that cannot be had in any educational system that does not build itself upon the principles that in our modern world are justly interpreted only by the natural sciences. There is no greater menace to the American child, the potential adult of tomorrow, than unbiologic schooling. The conditions of city life as they have produced what Le Play described as the unstable family have been made standard and by urban prestige more or less pushed upon all schools. Conditions that create tension, fatigue, and inferiority feeling have not only been permitted but even encouraged. The school has even become so distant from normal family interests that it has by edict denied the right of marriage to a large part of its women teachers. This is an illustration of the lack of appreciation in the school policy at least in practical ways of the danger of conditions that foster emotional frustration in those who teach. The values that have had emphasis, when tested later in life through the intellectual and emotional interests of the graduates, have proved ineffectual in bringing the results that the educators themselves have accepted as obligations.

An educational program that recognizes family welfare will provide specific instruction in preparation for family experience and will include in its teaching attempts to interpret domestic resources. It will help men and women enjoy home life and parenthood and develop that appreciation of domestic satisfactions the want of which is making many adults restless, emotionally barren, and as adventurers in life futile.

Dr. Schairer of London University recently speaking in New York said education must assume its share of responsibility for the building of a new world when the present war comes to an end. The two educational changes required to secure the democratic way of life, according to this speaker, were the restoring of educational functions to the family and the emphasizing of spiritual values in the classroom. The school instead of continuing the present trend of increasing its functioning at the expense of the family needs to lessen its control of the child's life and to assist the family to function more.

A state program of education which dominates the child's life without the restraints coming from the influences of vital family life not only provides the most tempting means for governmental coercion but is itself as experienced by the child a totalitarian authority.

In order to help people make better use of domestic opportunities, the educational program must go beyond the teaching of those in school or college and provide help for people whose situation offers opportunity for the giving of special assistance.

For young people about to marry, there should be practical instruction in preparation for matrimony. This should be provided by the church or community or perhaps by both with different content and emphasis.

For those about to be parents there

should be a similar provision. Both men and women should be helped to have an intelligent understanding of pregnancy, the care of the infant, and the principles of child training.

For those in trouble in marriage or in family relationships there should be in any community large enough to maintain a high school an opportunity to get unemotional, objective, specialized counsel.

In the training of those entering the professions of law, medicine, the ministry, and teaching there should be instruction revealing the problems of marriage and the family as these are related to the functioning of these professions. The fact that the training of each of these fields is already preoccupied and even overcrowded does not justify the present neglect of domestic experience. Even the doctor, whose preparation is crammed most of all, comes daily in contact with emotional situations of family origin, sex difficulties, and faulty parenthood practices which have the greatest importance for health.

The time has come when there is need

also of special attention to the needs of the aged. We are beginning to recognize that they demand a new emphasis in preventive medicine. They also are becoming a peculiar family problem and one that requires and deserves a community program absolutely new in motive and content.

Another task that education needs to accept in its attempt to build vital family life in this country is the developing of an intelligent public opinion that will recognize the significance of marriage and the family and the need of protecting the interests of both through a more wholesome social life. This more intelligent civilization includes taxation, legislation, federal, state, and local, physical and psychic conditions of industry, the character and availability of recreation, political administration, judicial attitudes and practices, and the formation and functioning of social organizations. In each of these specialized interests an intelligent society demands an alert citizenship ever on guard to preserve and advance the welfare of the family.

## SOME CONTRASTS IN WOMEN EMPLOYED IN TWO TYPES OF INDUSTRIES IN MISSISSIPPI\*

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**T**HIS report concerns the white women employed in five industrial plants of Mississippi, three cotton textile mills and two cotton garment plants, all located in poor agricultural areas of the State. The textile mills were established in the period following the

Civil War, drawing their labor supply from poor white farm families in the surrounding territory. They were established at a time when there was little or no regulation of working conditions, a time when white women of the State did not ordinarily seek employment outside the home. Their employees were housed in "the mill village" where the poverty shiftlessness, and misdemeanors of some of the group were attributed to all the group. There was little diffusion of outside cul-

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ture. The garment plants, on the other hand, were established during the world wide business depression, at a time of bank failures and mortgaged farms, at a time when white women quite often sought work outside the home, and after the passage of legislation regulating working conditions. The data were secured during 1938-39 by personal interviews using schedules evolved by preliminary testing.<sup>1</sup> The information desired was obtained from 538 of the 539 white women employed in the three textile mills and 544 of the 556 white women employed in the two garment plants.

#### AGES OF WOMEN

The majority of women in both types of industry were in their twenties, but the mean age of women working in the garment plants was less than the mean age of those employed in textile mills, being 25 years for garment plant workers and 30 years for textile mill workers. The average deviation of the ages of garment plant women from this mean age of 25 years was 5.7 years. Ages of textile mill women deviated from their mean age by 9.7 years. The higher mean age and the relatively greater deviation from this mean of textile mill women was due in large part to the fact that the textile mills had been established many years ago; the garment plants only recently. For this reason, fewer workers in the garment plants had had an opportunity to grow old in service than in the textile mills. Several of the women in one of the textile mills had worked in their present occupation for around forty

years. There were four women in the three textile mills studied of sixty years and over. The oldest, 64 years old, will soon be eligible for an old age pension. The oldest worker in the two garment plants was 51 years of age.

There were three women 16 years of age in the textile mills; two of this age in the garment plants. In 1930, the child labor law of Mississippi made it unlawful for any firm or corporation to employ any children under the age of 14 years. Children 14 to 16 years of age might be employed if the children complied with the compulsory school attendance laws. As the supply of workers was abundant around all these plants, it was not necessary to draw upon children who must meet compulsory school attendance laws. At the time of the study all textile mills had a supply of "spare hands" and followed the practice of laying off regular workers at certain intervals in order to allow these extras some means of livelihood. The absence of girls 14 and 15 years of age may also be a reflection of the adoption of codes of fair competition under NRA, which codes prohibited the employment of children under 16 years of age.<sup>2</sup>

#### SCHOOLING AND OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF WOMEN

The women in the garment plants had had on an average about three and one-half grades more schooling than had the women in the textile mills. The mean number of grades completed by textile mill women was 6.9 and by garment plant

<sup>1</sup> The studies in two of the textile mills and in one of the garment plants were completed before the Fair Labor Standards Act went into effect. At this time the maximum working time for women set by State laws was 10 hours a day—60 hours a week. These hours, however, were not followed by the garment plant. Its hours were within the limit of 44 hours per week set by the Act for October 1938-39.

<sup>2</sup> The codes which were established under the NRA went out with the adverse Supreme Court decision in 1935. However, the child-labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act, which was passed in 1938, established a basic minimum age for employment of 16 years. This act went into effect in October, 1938. It applies only to manufacturing of goods shipped out of the State, but all five plants of this study made such shipments.



women 10.5 grades. Textile mill women deviated from their mean of 6.9 grades completed on an average, 2.2 grades, while garment plant women deviated from their mean of 10.5 grades on an average, 2.4 grades.

About three-fourths of the garment plant women had from nine through twelve grades of schooling, while only one-fifth of the textile mill women had had as much schooling. Only one garment plant worker had completed less than four grades. There were forty-two textile mill women who had completed less than four grades. Five of these women had never attended school.

Nearly 50 percent of the garment plant women had completed high school. Thirty-three had attended college. Only 5 percent of the textile women had finished high school. One had attended college for a semester. There are probably a number of factors responsible for the great difference in the schooling of the garment plant and textile mill women. The history of these plants would seem to be one factor. The garment factory came in with the world-wide business depression of 1932-33, when it could get well-schooled women for the asking. The textile mill came in when there were fewer women with secondary schooling, and those with such schooling could easily get teaching positions. The textile mills, therefore, took on a less schooled group in the beginning, and this, in turn, kept down the number of high school graduates who were willing to work in textile mills.

The fact that the textile workers were an older group, or were reared during a period when the average person had less schooling, was also a factor. Fifty-six percent of the textile mill women of 31 years and older had less than seventh grade schooling, while only 31 percent of those of 30 years of age and under had as little

schooling. Another reason for the lower educational status of the textile mill women may be that a number were reared on the mill grounds where the environment is perhaps not as conducive to obtaining an education. Before 1930 there was no compulsory school requirement for children 14 years of age and over working in the mill, and consequently more began work at 14 years. Some of the older women who came along when the laws were even more lax spoke of beginning work at 12 years of age. In other words, the lower the age requirement, the less the schooling. The 1930 Child Labor law of the State certainly seems to have resulted in more schooling for the mill child. Then, too, the textile workers married earlier than garment plant workers. Marriage, of course, stopped schooling.

Eighty-four percent of the textile mill women and 79 percent of the garment plant women had worked in their present industry as much as a year in the past two years. Fewer new workers were being taken on by the textile mills, for business was not good and experienced workers were available. The vast majority of women in both types of work had had no other kind of occupational experience; 82 percent in the case of textile mill women, 76 percent in the case of garment plant women.

#### OCCUPATION OF FAMILIES IN WHICH REARED

The majority of the women in both textile mills and garment plants had been farm-reared and this is not surprising since farming has been and is now the main occupation of Mississippi people (Table 1). More garment plant workers (65 percent) than textile mill workers (59 percent) were, however, farm-reared.

Twenty-six percent of the textile mill women were reared in homes of textile mill operatives, while the number of garment plant women reared in homes of

garment plant operatives was negligible. The difference in the family background of the women in these two types of industry is, therefore, partly due to the fact that the textile mills had been in operation for many years and had produced a second and even a third generation of textile mill workers. There is a marked tendency for mill workers' children to become mill workers, just as there is a marked tendency for farmers' children to become farmers.

TABLE 1

OCCUPATIONS BY WHICH PARENTAL FAMILIES OF TEXTILE MILL AND GARMENT PLANT WOMEN DERIVED MAIN SOURCE OF INCOME WHEN WOMEN RESIDED WITH THEM

OCCUPATION OF PARENTAL FAMILY	PERCENTAGE OF:	
	Women in textile mills N = 538	Women in garment plants N = 544
Farmer.....	59.3	64.5
(1) Owner.....	29.9	51.8
(2) Non-owner.....	29.4	12.7
Textile mill or garment plant work*.....	25.8	.4
Other unskilled or semi-skilled work.....	7.6	6.8
Other skilled work.....	2.8	15.8
White collar work.....	1.1	5.3
Proprietor.....	1.9	4.0
Professional man.....	1.3	2.4
Incapacitated.....	.2	.2
Information not obtained....	—	.6
Totals.....	100.0	100.0

\* In same industry as daughter.

The garment plant workers came from families of higher social economic status than did the textile mill workers. Four times more of the parental families of garment workers with the occupation of farming had been farm owners than had been farm non-owners. The parental families of farm-reared textile mill operatives were equally divided between owners and non-owners. The fathers of the garment workers not reared on the farm were

more often skilled laborers; the fathers of the textile mill workers not reared on the farm were more often textile mill operatives whose work is for the most part of semi-skilled type. There were few daughters of white collar workers, proprietors, and professional men in either group, but there were relatively three times more in the garment plant group. The fathers of the women who were professional men were with few exceptions preachers. This is an occupation which does not necessarily imply professional training.

One would likely surmise that since most of the women in these plants were

TABLE 2

WOMEN EMPLOYED IN TEXTILE MILLS AND GARMENT PLANTS CLASSIFIED BY MARITAL STATUS

MARITAL STATUS	PERCENTAGE OF:	
	Women in textile mills N = 538	Women in garment plants N = 544
Single.....	22.1	48.4
Married.....	64.5	44.3
Widowed.....	4.7	1.8
Divorced or separated.....	8.7	5.5
Totals.....	100.0	100.0

farm-reared, the majority would also be reared within close vicinity of the plant, and this was the case. The majority of the women in this study, both in the garment plants and the textile mills, were reared in the same county as the plant in which they worked. Only 45 textile mill women and 10 garment plant women were reared outside the State. This makes these industries of special concern to educators of the State.

#### MARITAL STATUS AND RESIDENCE

Table 2 classifies the women employed in the two industries by their marital status. As may be noted, there were more

than twice as many single women in the garment plants than in the textile mills. The women in the textile mills married earlier than did those in the garment plants. Two-thirds of the women in textile mills who had married, married the first time before they were twenty years of age, while only one-half of the garment workers had married so early. This may be explained in part by the difference in the age of the two groups, since women formerly married earlier than they now do. Then women in the textile mills worked in plants where there were more men and thus had more opportunities for getting acquainted with the opposite sex. Nearly 60 percent of the employees in the textile mills were men, while about 15 percent of those in the garment plants were men. This difference was due in large part to a difference in the nature of work in the two types of plants. The husbands of nearly three-fourths of the textile mill women were themselves textile mill workers, while in the case of women in the garment plants, where fewer men were employed, only fifteen were married to garment plant workers.

The garment plant women who were more often reared on the farm were more often married to farmers. Twenty-five percent were married to farmers, while only 7 percent of the textile mill women were married to farmers. Shorter working hours made it more practical for women in garment plants to commute to work from nearby farms.<sup>3</sup> Thirty-eight percent of the garment plant women lived in the open country, while only 25 percent of the textile group did so. Sixty-four percent of the textile mill women lived in company houses. Those textile employees who did not live in a company house were more likely to live in the open country.

<sup>3</sup> This, of course, is now no longer true.

In interviews with textile employees, the open country was very often spoken of as "the only place to rear a family." It was a place where their children had "plenty of work and were away from the influences of bad mill children." It was a place where they could enjoy a social rating on par with other industrial and commercial people.

This feeling that "mill village folks" had a low social rating was quite common among textile workers and may be due to the history of these mills. As has been pointed out, many of the first workers were drawn from the poorer farm families in surrounding areas. They were brought together in company houses to form the mill village; a group set apart. This was at a time when white women of the State did not seek employment outside the home except in such genteel occupations as teaching; a time when textile employees worked twelve hours a day, and the women came out of the mill often too tired to remove the lint from their hair from one day to the next.

The garment plants had a different beginning. Miss B had described most aptly this beginning. "I graduated from high school during the depression and simply couldn't get a job. Then I heard about a new garment plant that needed women. Mother didn't want me to try for a job, so I said, 'I'll just go into town and see who else is applying and if I don't like the crowd, then I won't put in my application.' Why, when I arrived, some of the most prominent farmers' daughters in the county were in line. I immediately put in my application."

#### NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND CARE DURING MOTHERS' WORKING HOURS

Forty-eight percent of the garment workers who had been married or were



married had children, whereas 78 percent of this group in textile mills had children. The mean number of children was 2.1 for textile mill women and .8 for garment plant women. The average deviation of number of children of textile mill women from their mean number was 1.8 children. Number of children of garment plant women deviated from their mean number by 1.3 children. More than half the garment plant women had no children and this explains the relatively high variability from the mean by this group. Not only did more of the textile mill women have children, but those with children had a greater number of children than did the women working in the garment plants. Textile mill women with children averaged 2.6 children each. Those in garment plants with children averaged 1.8 children each.

The difference in the size of the families of these two groups cannot be attributed, except in part, to a difference in age, or age of marriage of the women in the two groups. For when these factors are held constant there are still nearly twice as many women with children in the textile mill group.

Many of the textile mill women lived on the mill grounds and this group no doubt felt freer to leave their children. It is one thing to be eight or ten miles away from home and one's family, and another to be almost within calling distance. A mother on the mill grounds could be summoned home within fifteen minutes or even less if need be. Thirty-seven percent of the garment plant women with children 14 years of age and under left these children in the care of their grandmothers. Many in the group would have been unwilling to go so far from home without the assurance that their children were in "as good hands as their

own."<sup>4</sup> The grandmothers cared for the children in one-fourth of the textile mill families.

Another explanation for the larger families of the textile workers may be in the fact that they are a group having lower economic status than the garment factory group and thereby greater need for the mother to work.<sup>5</sup> All the women employed in these plants expressed a need for work, but undoubtedly young children would cause some women to remain at home where the need for work was not quite so urgent.

Finally, more of the women in the textile mill group had been reared in a cotton mill village where married women ordinarily work outside the home. To leave one's children did not mean going against custom or what she had been taught "was the right thing to do."

Forty percent of the textile mill women had one or more children six years of age and under, while 26 percent of the garment workers had children as young. In no case were preschool children left at home with no one to care for them. However, about 20 percent of the textile mill women with children 6-14 years and 15 percent of the garment plant women with children 6-14 years made no provision for the care of these children when they were at work. Thus one widow left

<sup>4</sup> In some cases this grandmother was old and feeble and could not give the care needed by a growing child. The mother, however, usually felt that the children's grandmother was a good person for the job.

<sup>5</sup> The earnings of a group of garment plant women selected from the two plants and the earnings of a group of textile mill women similarly selected from the three mills did not differ greatly, the earnings of the garment plant women being only slightly higher. The total family incomes of the married women in the two groups, however, averaged slightly more for the textile mill group, but because of the larger families of the textile mill women, income per capita was considerably less for this group. (Unpublished material of this department.)

her four children of 11, 9, 8, and 7 years, respectively, to care for themselves until she returned in the afternoon. Children of the women in both of the industries were more often left in the care of a grandmother or hired help than of anyone else. Textile mill workers' children were left a little more often with hired help than a grandmother. The children of garment workers were left about twice as often in the care of a grandmother than an employee. Other relatives, such as an aunt, a cousin, an older brother or sister, played a somewhat more important part in the care of textile mill children than garment plant children. The father of the children in some cases cared for his children when the wife was away, 8 percent in the case of children of textile women, 14 percent in the case of garment plant women. These men were sometimes textile workers on a different shift from their wives; sometimes farmers.

When the mother was on the job away from home, the vast majority of children were, therefore, in the care of someone at home or of a relative living near the family. The children of only 14 of the women, 7 in textile mills and 7 in garment plants, did not live with their mothers. Only one child stayed at a nursery school.

The care these children received when their mothers were at work varied quite a bit from family to family. The children left with their fathers seemed in some cases to be well cared for. In other cases the father, on a different shift from his wife, spent most of his time at home sleeping, or if farming, on farm chores, and could give only casual attention to his child or children. Grandmothers were sometimes old and feeble, other times alert and ever watchful. The hired help was quite often (especially in the case of textile workers) a white woman, in which case she was called a "house-

keeper." Two dollars a week and room and board were generally paid. This hired help, too, varied quite a bit, sometimes being so inefficient that the woman felt compelled to give up her gainful work. In most cases the children's lunch was prepared at home, though school lunch rooms established by the WPA were used by some.

#### HOUSEKEEPING ARRANGEMENTS

The vast majority of married women in both textile mills and garment plants kept house (Table 3). Those married women not keeping house usually lived with their parental family or other relatives. Most of the single women on the other hand lived with their families or relatives, though light housekeeping and rooming and boarding with unrelated persons were fairly common in the group of single garment plant women. This was due, of course, to the fact that relatively more of this group were farmers' daughters—many living too far from home to commute daily to work. Textile mill single girls were in many cases daughters of textile mill operatives. The widowed, divorced, and separated group did not keep house as often as the married group or reside with their family or relatives as frequently as the single girl.

It was rather difficult to secure facts pertaining to the financial arrangements of those women living with family or relatives, especially in the garment plant group who often resided in farm homes where it was against the mores to accept money for room and board from adult children. "No, indeed, Mother doesn't charge me any board. . . ." "This is my home and I'm always welcome." When questioned further, it was usually found, however, that daughters bought the groceries or the family clothing or were meeting the payments on the family car.

This quite often amounted to more than was paid by those women where there was a definite financial arrangement.<sup>6</sup>

The fact that more of the textile mill group lived in town where food, fuel, and housing had to be purchased continually by the use of cash, where there were many roomers and boarders, where industrial work was not a new thing, probably accounts for the difference in the financial arrangements of these two groups living with family or relatives.

home of a stranger in the same community for the number of persons concerned. The woman was then placed in one of three categories: whether she paid the going rate, less than the going rate, or more than the going rate. The going rate of board corresponded as closely as possible with the average amount charged in the community for the type of board secured by those of similar socio-economic status. This rate no doubt was set at too low a figure for some women and at too

TABLE 3  
HOUSEKEEPING ARRANGEMENTS OF TEXTILE MILL AND GARMENT PLANT WOMEN CLASSIFIED BY MARITAL STATUS

HOUSEKEEPING ARRANGEMENTS	TEXTILE MILL WOMEN	GARMENT PLANT WOMEN	TEXTILE MILL WOMEN	GARMENT PLANT WOMEN	TEXTILE MILL WOMEN	GARMENT PLANT WOMEN
	Married		Percentage of: Wid., Div., Sep.		Single	
	N = 347	N = 141	N = 71	N = 40	N = 119	N = 160*
Keep house.....	87.0	80.9	55.6	35.0	.8	16.5
Live with family or relatives.....	12.4	17.9	36.1	62.5	91.6	68.9
Pay board.....	9.0	7.5	19.4	7.5	41.2	10.8
Pay part family living expenses.....	1.7	10.0	15.3	40.0	29.4	50.0
Pay all family living expenses.....	1.7	—	—	7.5	7.6	3.5
Make no contribution in cash or goods	—	.4	—	2.5	2.5	3.8
Turn over all check.....	—	—	1.4	5.0	10.9	.8
Room and board with unrelated person..	.6	1.1	8.3	2.5	7.6	14.6
Totals.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

\* One cooked for room and board. Two roomed with relatives and took meals out.

How much were those living with family or relatives paying? The actual amount paid means little, for in some cases the amounts covered were for one person only; in other cases for a couple; in other cases for a woman and a child or children; or a woman, her husband, and a child or children. In order to place these women on a comparable basis, the most usual amount paid the family or relatives per month was secured and this amount compared with the amount of board in the

<sup>6</sup> Boarding with family or relatives was defined as paying a set sum each month.

high a figure for others.<sup>7</sup> It was not thought feasible to adopt a different rate for each woman.

On this basis, single girls more often paid more than the going rate than did married, widowed, divorced and separated women. Forty-four percent of the single textile mill girls and 45 percent of the single garment plant girls paid

<sup>7</sup> The reduction ordinarily made for room and board for more than one person in the same family was, of course, used in setting rates. Thus the going rate of an individual might be \$15 a month, a couple \$25 a month, a couple with child \$32.50 a month.



more than the going rate. Ten percent of the textile mill single girls and 16 percent of the garment plant single girls paid the going rate. This means that single garment plant girls who were more frequently without financial agreement with their family or relatives concerning what would be paid were paying more than were single textile mill girls who more often had such an agreement. Without doubt the families and relatives of these garment plant women could have managed as successfully on less from these young women had they received a set sum.

Widowed, divorced, and separated women living with family or relatives more often paid less than the going rate than did single or married women. This was no doubt due to the fact that some of these women had several children. Had they not lived with their families or relatives, it would not have been possible to manage at all. One-third of them, however, paid more than the going rate.

The married group was the group that paid the going rate of board most often and paid more than the going rate least often. Some in this group had been married only shortly and they were living with their families or relatives until more permanent arrangements could be made. Some of the families or relatives were using this means of helping young couples save enough to start out on their own, or of helping an older daughter with a family and an inadequate income tide over a difficult time.

The married, widowed, divorced, and separated women living with parental families or other relatives employed in garment plants paid less than the going rate of board more frequently than did textile mill women with similar housekeeping arrangements and of similar marital status. Lack of financial agree-

ment of these women with those with whom they resided was doubtless the cause. Many of these women had children to support or partly support. In the absence of a definite financial agreement as to what would be paid, less was paid, than where an agreement had been made. The parental families and relatives of garment plant workers were no doubt more demanding of the single girls who did not have families of their own.

#### HOME DUTIES OF HOUSEKEEPING WOMEN

Sixty-six percent of the textile mill women and 68 percent of the garment plant women had paid household help.<sup>8</sup> About one-half of the textile mill women with paid help had daily paid help, while only one-fourth of the garment plant women with paid help had it as often. There are a number of reasons for this. Textile mill women more often had children and had more children. They also more often lived in town where such help was more available. They were away from home at work a greater number of hours each day, and their need for assistance was consequently greater.

Eighty-nine percent of the textile mill women having no paid household help had some assistance from husbands, children, or relatives. About 85 percent of the garment plant women without paid household help had such assistance. The assistance from the husband most often consisted in the care of the garden, milking, and assistance with cleaning. Where there were children he often gave some time to their care. The service given by relatives was most frequently the care of children. Children in the household most often assisted with cleaning and getting in stove wood. Housekeeping widowed, divorced, and separated women received

<sup>8</sup> In many cases this help consisted of a washer-woman only.

more assistance from relatives and children than did housekeeping married women.

Housekeeping single girls in the main did what is generally termed "light housekeeping." They prepared their meals on an oil stove in their sleeping quarters. There were a few in the group, however, who had both kitchen and bedroom. Four girls in one of the plants had rented a four-room furnished house, a living room, two bedrooms, and a kitchen-dinette, and hired a woman to do their housework.

Home sewing was done by about two-thirds of the garment plant women and by about one-half of the textile mill women. More garment plant women had been reared in rural homes where home sewing is done more often than in urban homes. Then, too, garment plant women may have had more time for home sewing. No plant was more than eighteen miles from a good shopping center. Three plants, two textile mills and one garment plant, were located in such a center.

It is impossible to tell from the data secured which group of women had the heavier housekeeping burden, or to what extent they were overworked. Textile mill women had more assistance and did less home sewing, but they had longer working hours, and also had larger families. Both groups contained women who were shouldering two full-time jobs. The help received from husbands and children was oftentimes quite minor. Indeed, the main responsibility for keeping the house running smoothly rested on these gainfully employed housekeeping women. In most cases they were not neglecting their housework. Of the homes visited very few were dirty. In fact, many of the homes of these double-duty women were immaculate, and in good order.

#### HOME DUTIES OF NONHOUSEKEEPING WOMEN

As has been shown in Table 3, the industrially employed women of this study not keeping house were usually living with their family or relatives. Few roomed and boarded with unrelated persons. Only 15 of the 425 living at home failed to make a contribution in the form of cash or goods. Many in this group were providing more than the going rate of board. These working women were often spared at home (as is the male wage worker). "No, my daughter never helps with household tasks except on Sunday . . . ." "Mother does my laundry work." Such comments were heard quite frequently. Only one-fifth of the non-housekeepers ordinarily did their laundry work. About one-half, however, did some cleaning. A few helped with cooking. The women with children in this group devoted much time when at home to these children.

Not only were the home duties of the nonhousekeepers considerably less than of the housekeepers, but less sewing was likewise done by nonhousekeepers. Two-thirds from the textile mill and nearly one-half from the garment plant women did no sewing. The sewing of many of these was done by a mother, sister, or an aunt.

#### DIFFERENCE IN WOMEN IN THE TWO INDUSTRIES

In the foregoing discussion were included data concerning 538 women employed in three textile mills and 544 women employed in two garment plants of Mississippi. The differences found in the women of these two types of industries seem to be in the main the result of differences in the age of the plants and in the history and conditions growing out of this history. Although the women in these garment plants will undoubtedly

become more like the women in these textile mills, it is doubtful if they will ever become greatly like them. They have not been segregated by company housing or thrown almost altogether in the society of men in the same industry. Many reside in the open country and marry farmers, and being a farmer's wife is a double-duty job recognized as such by young garment plant women married to farmers. Many of these young women spoke of giving up work as soon as certain obligations were met. That many would do so is evidenced by the fact that farm women with such gainful employment

history were found in rural regions surrounding these plants. Those not marrying farmers as a rule married wage earners and white collar workers. Many of these men shift from one location to another, often in locations where there is no garment plant.

On the other hand, the women in these textile mills may become more like the women in these garment plants, especially if for any reason these plants should expand greatly and bring in new blood or if workers should for any reason choose to live outside the mill village in increasing numbers.

#### POPULATION ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

The Population Association of America will hold its annual meeting on May 16 and 17, 1941, at Princeton University. Of special interest to students and specialists in marriage and family relationships will be the following papers: Medical Implications of an Aging Female Population by Dr. George W. Kosmak, American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology; Physical Status of American Youth (as indicated by the Selective Service and other recent examinations) by Dr. G. St. J. Perrott, National Institute of Health; Physical Status of Low Income Farm Families (as indicated by examinations of Farm Security borrowers) by Dr. R. C. Williams, Chief Medical Officer, Farm Security Administration; Newer Methods of Discovering Nutritional Deficiencies by Dorothy Wiehl, Milbank Memorial Foundation; and the Film, Ortho Products Company—Studies in Human Fertility.

Other papers will include: Disease and Its Prevention in Relation to Population in Latin America by Dr. A. A. Moll, Pan American Sanitary Bureau; Population and Population Statistics of the Caribbean Area by Forrest E. Linder, U. S. Bureau of the Census; Population Expansion in South America by Dr. Preston E. James, University of Michigan; Relation of Agricultural Surpluses to Population in South America by J. L. Appadoca, U. S. Department of Agriculture; Relocation of Population Arising from the Defense Program by Collis Stocking, Bureau of Employment Security, Social Security Board; Changes in Population, 1930-1940 by Leon E. Truesdell. The annual dinner will be held on Friday night.

T. J. Woofter, Jr., is President of the Association, and Conrad Taeuber is the Secretary. Further information may be secured by writing to Dr. Taeuber, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.



## RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### CONTACT OF RACES IN BRAZIL

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**B**RAZIL, as well as other American countries, was originally a land of conquests; the growth of its population has developed by the contact or confluence of European settlers with the Indians. In this vast laboratory of races, the New World, Brazil affords a splendid field for investigation of how heterogeneous peoples from many sources have mingled and formed one homogeneous people, one language, and one culture.

When the Portuguese settlers came to Brazil in 1500 with the caravel guided by Pedro Alvares Cabral, they met an Indian population occupying the Brazilian coast in an extension of about 5,000 miles. With the Portuguese settlers in the sixteenth century came an enormous number of Africans, at first from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries as slaves for agricultural work, and afterwards for work in mining and other tasks. After the abolition of slavery in 1888, other European contingents immigrated to Brazil. In addition to the Portuguese there were Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and other European peoples, and also some oriental peoples such as the Japanese.

Because of the heterogeneous sources of its population, Brazil is a splendid

field for investigation of human hybridism. Unfortunately the field researches are few and without any definite conclusion. But we have at our disposal several centuries of a vast experience of contact of races, this contact being moulded according to a very old Portuguese tradition, that is, the contact between the Portuguese and the peoples they discovered in their exploration and colonization. In the contact between Portuguese and Negroes, for instance, Brazil never had anything similar to the Black Code and other legal prohibitions of contacts of races by miscegenation and intermarriage such as were very frequent elsewhere in the New World, especially in the English America.

The religious feeling has also favored interbreeding, and it was very common among the colonists. Many have emphasized the action of Catholicism with its doctrine of essential equality of mankind and its estimation of racial scruples. This position of Catholicism has been adopted by many Protestant countries influenced by modern missionaries.

Important also is the legislation and the strength of the public opinion in several South American countries with reference to miscegenation and intermarriage. In

the Spanish colonies marriage between the Indians and the Spaniards—in the beginning forbidden—was allowed after 1514. But in spite of the law allowing, or even stimulating intermarriage, the cases of concubinage were much more common, thus diminishing the cases of a legitimate matrimony. The union of Negroes with Spaniards was not facilitated and there was no tendency for its development.

In the French colonies the Negro codices, such as the famous "code noir" (1685), chastised concubinage but in many cases they allowed intermarriage. A decree of Louis XV in 1724 established penalties for marriage of white and Negro in Louisiana. But in areas of French influence all these restrictions disappeared with the revolution of 1789 which proclaimed equal rights among men. It is curious that all these restrictions did not apply to the Indians. Among the French there was no prohibition of intermarriage with Indians.

In the English colonies in America the situation was entirely different, for the rule was always prohibition not only of miscegenation but also of intermarriage. The laws on this particular are well known and do not require any further explanation here. The problem has been thoroughly discussed in the books of the North American sociologists dedicated to the study of the subject.<sup>1</sup>

What is the situation in Brazil? Of the total population numbering 40,000,000 inhabitants in 1920, it is estimated that 13,200,000 individuals are of mixed blood. The mulattoes, white and black crossbreedings, were estimated to constitute 22 percent of the population or 8,800,000 persons. The *caboclos*, the crossbreedings of Indians with the white race, were

estimated as numbering 4,400,000 or 11 percent. Not included here are other crossings which have a tendency to develop, as for example, the mixing which has occurred with the immigrants from the East.

This large percentage of hybrids proves the unchanged situation since the colonization, i.e., an intense sexual intercourse that never has suffered any legal restriction. The Portuguese tradition consenting to miscegenation was very old, as already mentioned. The Manueline and Philippine regulations, as well as the church, consented openly or dissimulatingly to every union in order to solve the problem of the lack of population. This was more easily so in the colonies and in Brazil where the slave regime was also feudal, non-agricultural, and patriarchal. This type of social organization facilitated sexual intercourse between the female slaves and their white masters, as many Brazilian essayists have shown for the colonial period.

This tendency of the Portuguese colonizers to have sexual contact with the black and Indian women of their colonies has already been the object of psychological and sociological investigations. Several Brazilian historians and sociologists have insisted upon these race contacts between the Portuguese colonizers and the black and Indian women as being connected with the Portuguese system of colonization.

Even the Jesuit priests would encourage the union among Portuguese and Indians, but this they would not do with reference to the Negroes. So the intercourse between the white and the Negroes was generally disapproved, although tacitly consented to, for there was no legal limitation. But even so, there were many preconceived opinions concerning the result of these crossings, and several scien-

<sup>1</sup> See Philip Wittenberg, "Miscegenation," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 5.

tists endorsed the theory of the inferiority of the hybrids.

The modern works of Brazilian writers are now trying to prove that the pretended "degeneracy" is connected with social and cultural factors rather than the physico-anthropological factors. Unfortunately the data are still insufficient. In Brazil all possible race contacts have been practiced: the Negroes with the white gave the mulattoes; the Negroes with the Indians, the *curibocas* or *cafusos*; the Indians with the white, the *mamelucos* or *caboclos*. To the offspring of races where it was impossible to distinguish the originators, we give the general name *pardos*\* (brown and light brown).

Next let us turn to an examination of the physical characteristics of the hybrids, quite aside from their relation to the so-called signs of inferiority. In Brazil various grades of hybridism have produced a certain number of "types" distributed among several ecological areas of the immense territory. Besides the characterization of types we shall find not only the physical more or less unchanged, but also the cultural characteristics such as dress and customs.

These types are well known by the popular classification, and some of them have been studied experimentally for delimitation and classification by Brazilian scientists. We can divide Brazil into three anthropogeographical areas where the three principal types of ethnic composition will be found.<sup>2</sup> The first area is that of the *caboclo*, including the states of Matto Grosso, Amazonas, Pará, North Goiaz, and the northeastern states as far as the vicinity of the mouth of the river São Francisco. The second is the zone of *African influence*, including the states of Pernambuco, Alagôas, Sergipe,

Bahia, Minas, South Goiaz, Espirito Santo, Rio de Janeiro, and north of São Paulo.

The third zone is that of *European influence* including the southern states. This division, proposed by Professor Roquette Pinto and accepted by other investigators, is subject to repeated revisions on account of the mobility of these groups as well as their multiform hybridism and new currents of immigration.

Thus, for example, in the *caboclo* zone we may properly include the inland of Bahia and Minas of *Ge-Botucudo* (or Tapuia Indians) influence; the São Paulo inland, as well as some vast central areas of the southern states where the Indian *Tupi-Guarani* contingents preponderate. Furthermore, from a cultural standpoint the *caboclo* zone may include all the extension where the indigenous cultural contributions have become evident, even in places where there now are no pure Indians, as for example, the coastland of the northeastern states.

The zone of the African influence has been delimited rigorously by a group of investigators belonging to the school of the Bahian anthropologist, Nina Rodrigues.<sup>3</sup> This zone is much larger than one might suppose for it includes practically all Brazil (except some areas of the southern states) with some more intensive focii in all the Brazilian coastland, from Maranhão to São Paulo, with irradiations to Bahia, Minas and to the mining zone of Goiaz and Matto Grosso.

As to the zone of the European influence, the southern states are really the focii where the greatest immigratory contingents are found, especially the German, Italian, and other European nationalities. But it must be kept in mind that the population of the other Brazilian states (in

\* See Roquette Pinto, *Seixos Rolados* (Rio de Janeiro, 1927).

<sup>3</sup> See Arthur Ramos, *O Negro Brasileiro*, 2nd edition (Rio de Janeiro, 1940).



central and north Brazil) is principally made up of descendants of the original settlers as well as of successive Portuguese currents. To a smaller degree it stems from the colonizers of other nationalities.

Thus the bulk of the Brazilian population is a result of crossings of Portuguese, Indians, and Negroes, enlarged more recently by contingents from several other sources.

In the delimitation of the *caboclo* area and its formative groups, Professor Roquette Pinto has pointed out some typical representatives where we may find either pure Indian blood, or Indian blood mixed with white or Negro races. On the northeast tableland as well as in the Amazon rubber plantations, there are *Cafusos* or *Caborés*, Negro and Indian crossings. Many of them are descendants from escaped slaves who had made *quilombos*, or hybrid settlements with stolen Indian females. Two very common types in the Amazonia region are the *Tapuio* (improperly so called, for *Tapuio* is an ethnical group perfectly delimited) and the *Paroára*. The *Tapuia* is the son of the domesticated Indian, a fisher of *pirarucú* or tortoises while the *Paroára* is the *caboclo* from the northeast emigrated to the Amazonia, where he became *seringueiro* or rubber gatherer.

Scourged by the droughts, many inhabitants of the northeast emigrated to the Amazonia, in a well known exodus that occurred since the middle of the last century. The Amazon *seringueiros*—rubber gatherers—are decimated by ailments and starvation on account of meagre salaries and cultural and social disagreements, and so if there is any inferiority it is of a social and economical nature. In Matto Grosso the *seringueiros* are better protected. In the Matto Grosso, Goiaz, and northeast inlands are found types called *Cuiabano* and *Cearense* both with a

strong infiltration of Indian blood. In the northeast inlands the *Cangaceiro* and the *Jagunço* are types well known for their physical and cultural aspects.

The *cangaceiro* and the *Jagunço* are anthropologically *Caboclos*—crossings of Indians with the white race. They were, to begin with, used as *guards* on farms in the colonial period, but afterwards they became themselves aggressors. Some of them, evading justice, had entered the jungles and joined some famous leaders whose names have passed into history and folklore. Other social causes, such as lack of communication and culture, the repeated droughts and consequent starvation, were additional incentives or factors in the maladjustments of the personality of the *cangaceiros* of northeastern Brazil.

This aspect of criminality of the northeastern *cangaceiro* is intimately connected with fanaticism, which was also the subject of the famous book entitled *Os Sertões* written by Euclides da Cunha. So, beside the *Cangaceiros* and *Jagunços* are found the fanatics or "penitents" embracing enormous multitudes of visionaries.

The history of northeastern Brazil contains a vast series of famous mystical epidemics that need to be seriously considered. Fortunately the social-cultural conditions of the area have now a tendency to amelioration, the incidence of the *Cangaceiros*, *Jagunços*, and *Beatos* being greatly diminished.

Among the inhabitants of the coastland in the *caboclo* area are found the *Vaqueiros* of Marajo, curious personages, who are known for their use of the ox for riding purposes. The *Praieiros*, beach dwellers, of Rio Grande do Norte and elsewhere, are crosses formed by the contribution of the three races. They are known by the employment of their rafts, "jangadas," in which they may sail into the open sea for several days at a time. Their houses

are the rough *mocambos* on the beach, thatched with coco leaves. The coco tree and the coconuts occupy almost all their time and their social and cultural life. In the zone of the Negro influence there are several types in formation, resulting from the mixture of races and from *adaptation* and *acculturation*.

Popular denominations discriminate all the slight variations of color which are a consequence of Negro, white, and Amerindian hybridism. We have referred to *mulattoes*, *curibocas*, and *caboclos* but there are other names specifying the hue or varieties of color, such as *negro retinto* (very black or like coal), *negro fulo* (not very black or fullah), a kind of islamized Negro introduced into Brazil, who was already crossed with Semites and so was of a lighter tint than the others.

The mulattoes of a clearer colour are called "aca," "saraca," or "sará" in many Brazilian regions. In Bahia they are sometimes called "araquaba," while in Ceara they are known by the designation "bujamé." The mulatto in Brazil is also called *pardo*, *pardavasco*, *cabra* (the latter also a crossing with Indians). The name *albino* is sometimes heard, but always improperly given. The crossings of Negroes with Indians generally called *curiboca* or *cafuso* are also known by *caboré*, *zambo* (especially in other places in Latin America), *cafuz*, *carafuso*, and *cabo-verde*. But the hybrid or *cafuso* with Negro blood is improperly called *xibaro*, for this name is liable to be confused with the *jibaros* Indians of Equador.

We do not yet possess any perfect anthropometric classification of these several grades of Indian and Negro hybridism in the Brazilian population. For this a thorough examination of the various anthropological characteristics of complexion, shape, and color of the hair, anthropometric indices, and stature of

the Brazilian hybrid population would be necessary, but this is only now being initiated. The difference of the melanic pigment in the hybrids of the southern center, in the state of Rio, for instance, has characterized two types, the *muxuango* and the *mocorongo*, the former from the coast and from the lowland, the latter from the mountains.<sup>4</sup>

The *muxuango* is of a lighter color or even white or blonde, with blue or greenish eyes, thin lips, and an aquiline nose. They live spread on the sandy regions of the coast and *baixada*, lowland, and their ethnic origin is still a mystery; but it is supposed that their ancestors were English adventurers crossed with *Tupis* or *Tapuias*, and some Negro blood may also be present. The *muxuangs'* existence is now contaminated with paludism and infested by *verminosis*; and they are inhabiting an arid soil marsh and lowland of the coast, and so they are withering and fighting indefinitely. They are of a pale color and their physical constitution is weak. They live by fishing or hunting in the lakes or they grow manihot, pumpkins, and *mandiba*. They may be seen in the fairs of the state of Rio, having left their poor huts in disorder, traveling in an ox-cart or riding on ass back. Today the vast sanitation projects in the Fluminense lowland are radically changing the conditions of the region, and so the *muxuango* may be better off in the future.

Also in the *mocorongo* the presence of Negro blood is certain. They are direct descendants of slaves from the Parahyba valley who crossed with white races and Indians repeatedly. Their complexion varies from dark to white, the hair is black and frequently curled; they have salient zygoms, oblique eyes. They are

<sup>4</sup> Cf. A. Lamego Filho, *A Planície do Solar e da Senzala* (Rio de Janeiro), pp. 101, ff.

shy, idle, and patient. Their habitat is in the mountains; their shelter is commonly a roughly made hut. They live on rudimentary agriculture—coffee, maize, rice, and beans—and they also raise some animals. The *mocorongo* is the personage who gives to the folklore of the state of Rio its typical feature. In it are found important African contributions.

The Negro, white, and Indian crossings have produced a long series of types with a variation of hue, but as yet the anthropological investigations have not been satisfactory.

In the *white area* there are also several types that are characterized not only by the anthropological and physical aspects, but also by the cultural ones. The Italian from São Paulo is not the same as the Italian from Naples or Genoa, nor is the German from Santa Catharina and from

Rio Grande do Sul the same as the German from Hannover or Baviera.

The *gaucho* from Rio Grande do Sul is the result of assimilation of the European or other Brazilian type with an ecologic environment, and from its acculturation with a type of regional culture. The typical *gaucho* is well known for his *bombachas* and *poncho*, that is to say, loose pantaloons and a folded shawl on his shoulder, a big broad-brimmed hat, a neckerchief, boots and spurs—a perfect horseman.

The contact of races in Brazil is a process which continues unabated today. As in other species the tendency is for more and more differentiation. Accompanying the biological crossings and fusions is an equally interesting meeting and blending of cultures. These will constitute the topic of a later discussion.

## POLITICAL CHANGES AMONG NEGROES IN CHICAGO DURING THE DEPRESSION\*

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THE profound effects of the recent depression upon the American people have been the subject of careful study by social scientists in many fields. Of great importance has been the changing status of races and ethnic groups in the American social order. This paper is concerned with certain significant changes in political behavior among Negroes which occurred during this period.

Negroes, like other groups, have undergone great transformations in their eco-

nomic and social organization, in their attitudes toward other social groups, and in their status in American society. This may be attributed largely to the economic crisis beginning in 1929. Until very recently, Negro voters were aligned almost wholly with the Republican Party. It may be said, in fact, that most of the history of Negro political activity in the United States developed within the Republican Party and in opposition to the Democrats.<sup>1</sup> This attachment has been due in the main to peculiar historical circumstances and to racial antagonisms

\* Appreciation is due Professor W. Lloyd Warner and Mr. Horace R. Cayton for permission to use materials from a larger study collected under their direction, and to Professors Harold F. Gosnell and Louis Wirth of the University of Chicago for counsel during the process of this study.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. F. Gosnell, *Negro Politicians* (Chicago, 1935); also Lewinson, *Race, Class and Party in the South*; Nowlin, *Negro in American Politics*.



in the South. Since 1932, however, there has been a large-scale trend of Negro voters away from the Republicans and into the ranks of the Democrats. In view of the long one-party tradition among Negroes, this relatively sudden break is given added significance. This study was limited to the Negro electorate in Chicago and to the period from 1932 to 1939, although the forces which caused this shift were not at all bound to that community, but were for the most part national in scope and rooted in the past. It is known that the shifts of Negro voters in other parts of the North and in some border states were just as extensive as that which occurred in Chicago though detailed statistics cannot be presented.<sup>2</sup> Many of the generalizations here offered may be applied with some modification to other urban communities in the North.

#### REPUBLICAN TRADITION

In Chicago, the attachment of Negro voters to the Republican Party was particularly strong. H. F. Gosnell estimated that in presidential elections from 70 to 95 percent of the vote in predominantly Negro areas went to the Republican candidates.<sup>3</sup> Though there had been a sizable number of Democratic voters among Negroes, the continuous influx of migrants from the South seemed to prevent the growth of strong two-party organization. These migrants, the majority of whom were from Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Alabama where Negroes had been active in Republican politics during Reconstruction and where remnants of these activities persisted, had developed a tradition of attachment to the party that virtually defied attempts

to break it. To them the Republican Party was the party of Lincoln, the Great Emancipator; the party of the Congressional radicals who uncompromisingly forced the recognition of full and equal rights for the newly-made citizens; the party of the Negro political leaders—Douglass, Revels, Bruce, Lynch, etc.; the party of the northern philanthropists who poured money into the educational and social service institutions for Negroes in the South. The Democratic Party, on the other hand, had been the agent of slavery and oppression, of lynching and terror, of the Ku Klux Klan, and those interests which had effectively disfranchised the Negro in the South. With the skillful strategy of Republican leaders it is little wonder that this one-party tradition remained compelling for so long.

Negro voters in Chicago, because of their affinity for bloc voting and because of their strategic importance in the hotly contested Republican primaries were able to wrest certain gains in the form of representation, jobs, favorable legislation, and public services. These gains gave added strength to the party organization in the Negro community, and along with the indifference or impotence of the Democratic Party leaders, tended to reinforce Republican attachment.

#### THE TRANSITION

Despite the inability of the Republican leaders, both locally and nationally, to meet the economic crisis, the defection of Negro voters in Chicago did not occur until the program of the New Deal had gotten under way. White voters in the elections of 1930, 1931, and 1932 had given landslide majorities to the Democratic candidates.<sup>4</sup> The tide of Negro voters

<sup>2</sup> Earl Brown, "How The Negroes Voted In The Election of 1936" *Opportunity*, XIV (December, 1936).

<sup>3</sup> Gosnell, *Negro Politicians*, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> H. F. Gosnell, *Machine Politics* (Chicago, 1937), p. 109.

began to turn toward the Democratic Party in 1934. Table 1, based on an analysis of voting returns in census tracts 50 percent and over Negro in population, shows the percentages of the votes given Democratic candidates in successive elections from 1932 to 1939. Included, also, are percentages given by white voters in the city as a whole.<sup>5</sup>

TABLE 1  
PERCENT OF THE TOTAL VOTE CAST, BOTH NEGRO  
AND WHITE, FOR SELECTED DEMOCRATIC  
CANDIDATES IN CHICAGO, 1932-1939

CANDIDATES	NEGRO	WHITE
Roosevelt, 1932.....	23.4	59.2*
Congressmen-at-large, 1934....	41.8	64.0*
Kelly, 1935.....	80.5	82.7
Roosevelt, 1936.....	48.9	66.9*
Congressmen-at-large, 1938....	51.9	60.8
Kelly, 1939.....	59.5	56.1

\* Gosnell *Machine Politics*, p. 109.

Roosevelt, the Democratic candidate for president in 1932, received only 23.4 percent of the Negro vote in Chicago.

<sup>5</sup> The method used for calculating Negro voting percentages was comparable to that used by Gosnell in his analysis of white voters in Chicago. In this, he excluded census tracts containing twenty percent and over Negro. Cf. *Machine Politics*, p. 92.

The Negro migrants to Chicago have met more intense resistance to their invasion of new residential areas than any other racial or ethnic group. The ecological processes of segregation have forced Negroes to become localized in a few concentrated areas. In 1930, 90 percent of the Negro population lived in areas of more than 50 percent concentration, while 63 percent lived in areas from 90 to 99 percent concentration. The distribution of the Negro population in Chicago made it possible to transform most of it into a political unit suitable for analysis which practically excluded white voters. Precinct lines were superimposed upon census tract lines and a political unit was formed which averaged about 90 per cent Negro inhabitants and contained about 90 percent of the Negro population of Chicago. This sample was considered both representative of the Negro population and of its distribution in the city.

Roosevelt was not so popular among Negroes as Al Smith had been in 1928. Garner, his running mate, was a Texan who caused fears as to the influence of southerners on administration policy that might have been detrimental to the welfare of Negroes. In Chicago, Mayor Anton J. Cermack, who had defeated Republican "Big Bill" Thompson the year before, and without the aid of Negro voters, had not given evidence that he would deal liberally with colored citizens. Many jobs that Negroes held under Thompson were taken away and given to white supporters.

It was in 1934 that the first break of Negroes away from the Republican Party was noticeable. By that time the New Deal program was well under way and had captured the imagination of the masses. In this election the Democratic candidates for Congressmen-at-large received 41.8 percent of the Negro vote. In 1935, Democratic Mayor Edward J. Kelly, who had succeeded Cermack and who encouraged the recruiting and organization of colored voters for his party, received 80 percent of their ballots. However, this election was somewhat atypical in that the Republican Party in that year was practically defunct and unable to bring out its full support. In 1936, President Roosevelt received over twice the number of Negro votes he was given in 1932, and in the elections of 1938 and 1939 the percentages given the Democratic candidates by Negroes steadily increased. It is interesting to note that, though the Democratic percentages have declined since the peak of 1935 among white voters, they have steadily increased since 1936 among Negroes. The operation of certain evident economic, social and political forces were basic in causing this shift. The more important of these were: urbanization, the depression, the growing

Republican disaffection, the changing attitude of the Democratic Party toward Negro voters, and the growth of class-consciousness among Negroes.

#### URBANIZATION

The movement of Negroes to the city has largely changed their status in society and their own conceptions of themselves. The characteristic attitudes that accompany mobility and urbanization were bound to affect them vitally.<sup>6</sup> In the urban world, Negroes were being progressively freed of the folkways, habits and thought patterns developed in a rural southern culture. This process did not work automatically, of course, and, in fact, was greatly delayed by the concentration of Negroes in a Black Belt where each new wave of migrants would tend to reinforce the rural patterns. In the city, however, the element of coercion by whites was greatly reduced and freedom of choice more the rule. The Negro was able to bargain his labor on the open market. The results: increasing differentiation of occupations, the decline of Negroes in domestic service, and increased employment in industry. They became less influenced by personal contacts with employers and became more able to act politically on the basis of self or, possibly, class interest. The augmented disorganization of the family in the city likewise aided in removing a powerful force in the perpetuation of political tradition.<sup>7</sup> The urban church, as well, became more pliable and able to adapt itself to new demands.<sup>8</sup> Thus, it may be seen that urbanization produced social and psy-

chological changes in the Negro group that enabled it to become flexible enough to overcome tradition and, hence, to modify its political behavior when objective conditions made such action necessary.

#### THE DEPRESSION

Throughout the nation, Negroes were more severely affected by the depression than any other group. Located, for the most part, in the unskilled and service brackets their jobs were most easily dispensed with.<sup>9</sup> Every index of unemployment has shown a differential displacement of Negroes. As early as 1933, 17.8 percent of the Negro population was receiving unemployment relief.<sup>10</sup> In many cities the proportion was much higher.

Of the ten largest cities, Chicago was hardest hit by the depression.<sup>11</sup> There, as elsewhere, Negroes fared badly. The relief census of 1933 showed 80,542 Negroes on relief in the city, this number being 34.4 percent of the Negro population.<sup>12</sup> At this time, only ten percent of the whites were receiving this form of aid. In 1939, a report of the Chicago Relief Administration showed that districts in which Negroes were predominant contained the greatest numbers and proportions of persons on relief.<sup>13</sup>

The new Democratic administration took over the care of the needy from the over-burdened private charities in 1933. Large sums of money were turned over to the local governments to assure that "none

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (July, 1938).

<sup>7</sup> E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in Chicago* (Chicago, 1932).

<sup>8</sup> A number of ministerial advocates of the Republican Party in Chicago turned Democratic during the period under study.

<sup>9</sup> Charles S. Johnson, "Incidence Upon Negroes," *American Journal of Sociology*, XL (1935), p. 737.

<sup>10</sup> Federal Emergency Relief Commission, *Unemployment Relief Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), Report II, p. 26.

<sup>11</sup> Gosnell, *Machine Politics*, p. 3.

<sup>12</sup> *Unemployment Relief Census*, op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>13</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, April 23, 1939.



shall go hungry." Few of the local governments were able to contribute much to supplement the federal aid. Chicago was one of the cities that contributed least. However, the local Democratic administration attempted to claim credit for saving the city and capitalized on the popularity of the national administration.<sup>14</sup> As shown above, many Negroes in Chicago came in for a large share of relief funds and, consequently, were greatly impressed with the humanitarian aims of the New Deal. This sentiment was played upon and encouraged by both the national and local Democratic organizations. It was soon evident to a large number of Negroes that their security was tied up with the direct relief, work relief, C.C.C., N.Y.A. and other such programs of the government. A Republican precinct captain explained the loss of control of his party over his constituents. The major cause, as given by him, was

...the knowledge that their only sustenance came from the Democratic Party. That the New Deal may be the right or wrong form of government, that the Democratic Party is or is not controlled by the "nigger-haters" of the South, that Abe Lincoln was a Republican is not near so important as their daily bread. Hence, it can be easily understood how the Republicans lost out in this precinct.<sup>15</sup>

#### GROWING REPUBLICAN DISAFFECTION

In spite of the consistency with which Negroes held to the Republican Party, there had long been an undercurrent of discontent. With the collapse of Reconstruction in the South, the influence of the Negro as a voter steadily declined. It was not until the great migration of Negroes to the northern states during and after the World War that their importance was heightened.

Nationally, the gains which Negroes had received for their support of the Republican Party were in the form of a few traditional posts, e.g., Recorder of Deeds in the District of Columbia; some minor diplomatic assignments; and positions in the lower brackets of the Civil Service. Republican Congressmen usually supported anti-lynching legislation and in certain northern states Republican legislatures passed civil rights laws. It was only in certain localities where Negroes held the balance of power between the parties and, especially, between factions within the Republican Party, that outstanding gains were made.

Most of the dissatisfaction of Negroes in Chicago with the Republican Party was caused by the policies of various national administrations. It may be noted that the presidential appointments of Negroes had declined since the administration of Theodore Roosevelt and the Republican platforms became more and more vague in promises to colored citizens. Resentment and protests on the part of Negro leaders increased during this period.

It was in the presidential election of 1928 that the first major revolt occurred. A large number of Negro leaders and most of the major colored papers came out openly in advocacy of Al Smith who had shown a liberal attitude toward Negroes when Governor of New York.<sup>16</sup> In Chicago, Alderman Louis B. Anderson, in a public meeting on the eve of the election, said: "The Republican Party has shown us the gate. Now let all of the colored people walk out of the gate."<sup>17</sup> However, the time was not yet ripe for change and Smith did not receive a large vote among Negroes in Chicago.

<sup>14</sup> Gosnell, *Machine Politics*, p. 7.

<sup>15</sup> Personal Interview, June 8, 1939.

<sup>16</sup> *Negro Year Book*, 1931-32, p. 87.

<sup>17</sup> Gosnell, *Negro Politicians*, p. 30.

It was during the administration of President Herbert Hoover that the most intense dissatisfaction of Negroes with Republican leadership occurred. Several incidents poured oil on the fires, e.g., the segregation of colored Gold Star mothers on their pilgrimage, sponsored by the government, to the graves of the war-dead in France. "Why," cried the *Chicago Defender*, "if the United States government is not discriminating against black Gold Star mothers, are they being sent on special ships?"<sup>18</sup> The nomination by Hoover of Judge John J. Parker to the Supreme Court. Parker was quoted as having said in 1920: "The Negro as a class does not desire to enter politics. The Republican Party of North Carolina does not desire him to do so."<sup>19</sup> Hoover's efforts to "purge" the Republican Party in the South of its colored leaders and to organize a "lily-white" party which could successfully compete with the Democrats. Benjamin J. Davis, editor of the *Atlanta Independent* and former member of the Republican National Committee, said: "The Republican Party must discard the President's anti-Negro policy, repudiate lily-whiteism. . . ."<sup>20</sup> National issue was made of all of these policies and mass indignation among Negroes was aroused through platform and press.

More serious than the others, probably, was the inability of the Hoover administration and local Republican administrations to cope with the economic crisis. The wavering indecision, the succession of defeats, the rising level of insecurity among the masses caused the Republicans to grow very unpopular with voters in general.

<sup>18</sup> April 26, 1930.

<sup>19</sup> *Chicago Defender*, May 31, 1930.

<sup>20</sup> *Chicago Bee*, November 16, 1930.

#### THE CHANGING ATTITUDE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY TOWARD THE NEGRO VOTE

The antagonisms that existed for many years between the Democratic Party and Negroes in the United States have been suggested above. For generations in the South, the large majority of white voters were kept in a one-party system almost invariably by one all-important fear: the Negro. Power in southern politics was maintained by Negrophobes like Vardaman, Bilbo, Bleasde, and other such figures by manipulating political attitudes through symbols like "white supremacy," "Negro domination," "Social equality for Negroes." In the North, the Democratic Party also contained elements that were hostile to Negroes. The Irish and Italian immigrants to whom the Negro became a competitor for the low-paid unskilled jobs that these groups held were easy prey for anti-Negro propaganda. In general, the Democratic Party did not seek after the Negro vote, but recognized it as a possession of the Republican Party and used that fact to gain supporters among white voters.

With the victory of the Democratic Party in the national elections of 1932, a definite change of policy in regard to the Negro and the Negro vote took place. This party policy was initiated by the New Deal administration and followed through by Democratic leaders in the North, but only slightly affected the traditional alignment in the South. In pointing out the liberalized attitude toward Negroes it is necessary to make a distinction between the general ameliorative program of the New Deal, and that particular phase of party policy which has to do with rewarding and recruiting party supporters.

The benefits which Negroes received

from the New Deal need only briefly to be outlined here. They were no more than those received by other groups of comparable economic status. The Public Works Administration erected schoolhouses, hospitals, libraries, playgrounds, etc. The Works Progress Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, National Youth Administration provided thousands of jobs for Negro unemployed professionals, teachers, white-collar workers, skilled and unskilled laborers, and domestic servants. Many illiterates were taught to read and write for the first time, and new trades, skills, and leisure-time activities made available to others. The Home Owners Loan Corporation saved thousands of homes from foreclosure. An important fact in the dispensing of these and other benefits was the insistence of the administration on non-discrimination on the basis of color. Secretary of the Interior and Public Works Administrator Harold I. Ickes inaugurated a definite safeguard for the employment of Negro labor in the form of a minimum requirement that all contractors must meet.<sup>21</sup> Negro advisers were appointed for the more important agencies to insure the proper participation of Negroes.

Though President Roosevelt made only a few additional appointments of Negroes to important regular governmental posts, a large number of departmental appointments were made in connection with the new agencies.<sup>22</sup>

Of great significance in the changing attitude of the Party was the vigorous and outspoken opposition to racial intolerance by high official spokesmen in the administration. More prominent in this

regard have been Secretary Ickes,<sup>23</sup> N. Y. A. Administrator Aubrey Williams,<sup>24</sup> and Eleanor Roosevelt, the wife of the President.<sup>25</sup>

The local Democratic organization in Chicago rivaled the national administration in its attention to Negro voters, though the local leaders were less motivated by idealistic purposes and more concerned with entrenching themselves in power. Mayor Kelly greatly increased the patronage both petty and important as his supporters grew in the Negro community. Besides positions as Civil Service Commissioners, Assistant Attorney General, Assistant State's Attorney which Negroes had won under previous Republican regimes, new appointments to the Board of Education, Chicago Housing Authority, and others were made. Negroes were backed for elective offices by the Democratic machine and by 1939 nearly all of the offices held by Negro Republicans were in the hands of Negro Democrats. Among those were: Congressman, First District; State Senator, Third District; Cook County Commissioner; Alderman, Second Ward; Alderman, Third Ward.

This complete change of policy in many lines on the part of the Democrats, which has many other implications that cannot be dealt with here, was a major factor in producing the change in party affiliation among Negroes.

#### THE GROWTH OF CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG NEGROES

One of the prevailing ideologies in American society has been the belief in

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *Crisis*, XLIII (August, 1936), p. 231; *Baltimore Sun*, April 10, 1939.

<sup>24</sup> *Afro-American*, January 26, 1939.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *Opportunity*, XIV (January, 1936), p. 23; *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 2, 1939; *Afro-American*, July 8, 1939.

<sup>21</sup> Robert C. Weaver, "An Experiment With Negro Labor," *Opportunity*, XIV (1936), p. 295.

<sup>22</sup> *Negro Year Book*, 1937-38, p. 112 for full list.



the absence of a class hierarchy. This myth gained currency because of the relative fluidity of the system seen, especially, in the latter part of the nineteenth century. It was generally thought that with such traits as ambition, perseverance, and thrift one could rather easily rise from lowly beginnings to the top of the economic and social ladder. Many figures could be pointed out to confirm this belief. In more recent years, however, with our economy contracting rather than expanding, class lines are more discernible and the chances of making a fortune must be admitted as the exception rather than the rule. The depression beginning in 1929 was a potent factor in disaffirming the faith of the masses in their chances to rise by individual effort.

The policies of the Roosevelt administration appealed to the lower economic and disadvantaged classes in the population. Government spending, social security, wages, hours, and labor relations legislation have been largely directed toward increasing the purchasing power and raising the living standards of these groups. Legislation guaranteeing collective bargaining proved a boon to labor organization. During the expansion of the unions a split occurred in the American Federation of Labor and the Committee for Industrial Organization was formed. The latter was more vigorous and, in general, more progressive than the A. F. of L. had been.

Historically, Negroes had penetrated but little the ranks of organized labor. Colored workers, for the most part, were aligned with the employer interests. There were various reasons for this: White workers were particularly hostile to Negroes, since they had often been used as strike-breakers, and their presence tended to lower the wages in certain

industries. Most of the craft unions in the A. F. of L. had exclusionist policies, if not in theory, in fact. Negroes were considered untrustworthy and poor union material. Negro workers, themselves, were not convinced that their white fellows had more to offer than the rich industrialists, from which class came the philanthropists who poured money into educational and social service institutions for Negroes. Then, except in a few cases, there had been almost a complete lack of labor leadership among Negroes.

The C.I.O., when formed, launched an intensive organization drive in many industries in which Negroes were employed in large numbers. Definite attention was paid to the recruiting of Negroes and thousands were brought into the unions.<sup>26</sup> Chicago, where many of these industries were concentrated, became a center of the drive. The advantages of the C.I.O. for Negro labor were heralded in the press and on the platform. A new era seemed to have begun in racial cooperation based on the joint action of Negro and white workers, often under Negro leadership. Labor's Non-Partisan League, sensing the favorable sentiment among Negroes, capitalized on the popularity of the C.I.O. and campaigned intensively for Roosevelt in 1936.

The field of racial unions was also considerably strengthened during the New Deal regime. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, The Joint Council of Dining Car Employees, The International Brotherhood of Red Caps, which were composed almost wholly of colored workers, gained members and won successes in recognition and bargaining.

<sup>26</sup> T. Arnold Hill, "The Negro and the C.I.O.," *Opportunity*, XV (1936). See also Horace R. Cayton and George S. Mitchell, *Black Workers and the New Unions* (Chapel Hill, 1939).

An important result of this wave of unionization among Negroes during this period was the development of a class-consciousness at the expense of race-consciousness in the group. At present, this is not discernible in all sections of the population, but was evident in causing a shift of many voters to the Democratic Party.

Other organizations and movements also played a part in stimulating this new class-consciousness among Negroes. The National Negro Congress was formed in Chicago in 1936 and had as part of its program "to intensify and broaden the movement to draw Negroes into labor organizations," and "the development of an independent working class political party." The Communist Party was likewise very active among Negroes during the depression and had strong cells in the Negro community in Chicago. Though the total membership was not large, the energy of party workers and the dramatic effects of Communist propaganda were significant in the formation of attitudes and points of view identifying Negroes with the working-class movement as a whole.

Thus, the fact that Negroes began identifying themselves with the articulate

elements in the disadvantaged classes in the American social order encouraged the trend of colored voters to the Democratic Party which made special appeals to these groups.

The change in the political party affiliation of Negroes in Chicago during the depression may be conceived of as the changing attitudes of the members of a social group toward a given value in the society of which they are a part. The importance of this problem lay not merely in the fact that a normal or ordinary change in the voting behavior of a group had taken place, but more in the fact that the allegiance and identification of Negroes with the Republican Party had become so imbedded and persistent that a large-scale transfer of votes seemed unthinkable and was certainly not predictable before 1928.

Looking into the future, it seems less likely that any of the major political parties, in the North at least, will either ignore the colored vote or use it as an ogre against an opposing party. Neither will a major party be able to speak of the Negro vote as a solid block and boast of or decry the possession or lack of possession of it.

#### THE OHIO VALLEY SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The Ohio Valley Sociological Society, established in 1938 by expansion of the Ohio Sociological Society, and now recognized as Regional Society No. 3 of the American Sociological Society, will hold its third annual meeting on April 25-26, 1941, in Columbus, Ohio. An interesting and varied program has been prepared.

Officers of the Society for 1941-42 are: President—C. R. Hoffer, Michigan State College; Vice-President—A. B. Hollingshead, Indiana University; Secretary-Treasurer—J. F. Cuber, Kent State University; Editor—F. E. Lumley, Ohio State University.

## GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### RECENT MUNICIPAL SPENDING

AMY HEWES AND ASSISTANTS<sup>1</sup>

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MUNICIPAL finance has been subjected to drastic change during a decade of depression. It is now possible to look back and ascertain the direction which trends have taken and some of the effects of depression expenditures upon the welfare of the population. When hard times come, economy measures are loudly called for but difficult to achieve. Cities have resources in the shape of higher tax rates and bond issues which make it possible to carry on for a time as though little had happened to change the landscape. Moreover, they are tied to established standards of living by entrenched political interests which fight change. At the same time cities are forced to meet new responsibilities in the care of thousands of citizens who have suddenly lost their jobs. In order to make provision for them, expenditure for other items may be drastically cut with the result that services are impaired.

The present study is an analysis of trends

in the municipal expenditures of ten Massachusetts cities during the depression. These cities represent urban conditions in various sections of the Commonwealth. In size they range as follows:

*Group I.* (population between 100,000 and 150,000) Springfield, Cambridge, New Bedford.

*Group II.* (population between 40,000 and 70,000) Newton, Holyoke, Pittsfield, Chicopee.

*Group III.* (population between 17,000 and 25,000) Northampton, North Adams, Westfield.

Population changes have been very slight in all of these cities since 1930. In this they reflect the slower growth of cities in the country as a whole. The urban population of the United States increased by about 130 percent between 1900 and 1930, but its growth slowed down after 1920, and in the period from 1930 to 1935 the increase was estimated at only 3 percent.<sup>2</sup> Six of the ten Massachusetts cities studied actually declined in size during this period. (See Table I.) Cambridge, the city of largest increase, grew by less than 4 percent.

<sup>1</sup> This study was made in the spring of 1940 under the direction of Amy Hewes by twelve students in the course in advanced statistics in the Department of Economics and Sociology, Mount Holyoke College. Source of expenditure figures for 1927 and 1933: Massachusetts Department of Corporations and Taxation, *Annual Reports on Statistics of Municipal Finances*. For 1938: City auditors' reports.

<sup>2</sup> National Resources Committee, *Our Cities, Their Role in the National Economy* (Washington, 1937), p. 31.



With a single exception, Newton, they were rather highly industrialized and most of them important trading centers as well as factory sites. Chicopee, Holyoke, and Westfield each suffered because of the exodus of large industrial concerns. To the observant visitor the public buildings, streets, and homes in many of the cities no longer presented that appearance of general neatness which bespeaks a prosperous, well-run city.

TABLE I  
POPULATION OF TEN MASSACHUSETTS CITIES,  
1930 AND 1935

CITY	POPULATION		PER- CENT- AGE CHANGE
	1930	1935	
Group I (100,000- 150,000)			
Springfield.....	149,900	149,642	-.2
Cambridge.....	113,643	118,075	+3.9
New Bedford.....	112,597	110,022	-2.3
Group II (40,000- 70,000)			
Newton.....	65,276	66,144	+1.3
Holyoke.....	56,537	56,139	-.7
Pittsfield.....	49,677	47,516	-4.4
Chicopee.....	43,930	41,952	-4.5
Group III (17,000- 25,000)			
Northampton.....	24,381	24,525	+.6
North Adams.....	21,621	22,085	+2.1
Westfield.....	19,775	18,788	-5.0

Source: Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930. Population, Vol. I, Table V, p. 506; Decennial Census of Massachusetts, 1935, Table III, pp. 5-6.

The following characterizations made of these cities in the Massachusetts volume of the W. P. A. American Guide Series<sup>3</sup> are given to differentiate them further. Springfield is called the "Metropolis of

<sup>3</sup> Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration for the State of Massachusetts, *Massachusetts, A Guide to Its Places and People* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937), passim.

Western Massachusetts." It is pointed out that Cambridge, "The University City," includes also an "Unknown City of Workers" most of whom never went to college. The reader is reminded that New Bedford, the once famous whaling port, is now a textile center, and that Newton is the "Commuters' Haven." Holyoke is known as the "Paper City," Pittsfield has a "tranquil look" and is "one of the most attractive industrial cities in the state." Chicopee is characterized as "Future Minded" and has a large French-Canadian population. Northampton, home of Jonathan Edwards and Smith College, is both a residential and an industrial city. North Adams, on the famous Mohawk Trail, owes its development to the Hoosac Tunnel of which it is the northern terminal. Westfield, once the "Whip City" and since 1844 the home of a state teachers' college, has a number of small industries.

#### TOTAL EXPENDITURES

In the prosperous years before the depression the expenditures of American cities increased by leaps and bounds and those of Massachusetts cities were exceptionally high.<sup>4</sup> The huge sums spent in 1927 by the ten cities studied corresponded roughly to the varying size of the cities. (See Table II.) The large cities in Group I each spent between \$6,000,000 and \$9,000,000, those in Group II between \$1,000,000 and \$5,000,000, and the small cities in Group III between \$800,000 and \$900,000. All were still big spenders in the depression year of 1933 in which only Holyoke and New

<sup>4</sup> National Resources Committee, *Our Cities, Their Role in the National Economy*, p. 48. Royal S. Van De Woestyne, *State Control of Local Finance in Massachusetts*, Harvard Economic Studies, Volume XLIX (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1935), p. 146.

Bedford spent less than in 1927. Cambridge was the only city of the ten which had cut its expenditures in 1938<sup>5</sup> below the total for 1933. Mr. Royal Van De Woestyne, in commenting on municipal spending during this period, attributed the ability of the cities and towns of Massachusetts to finance themselves during the depression without increasing their indebtedness to the fact that they have

unemployed was carried by the cities with little outside help. The lowest was in 1938 when it dropped to \$56.93. The per capita for the city of Newton in 1927 and 1938 was markedly higher than that for any other city.

## EXPENDITURES FOR PRINCIPAL ITEMS

The most striking feature of the distribution of expenditure among the sep-

TABLE II  
TOTAL MUNICIPAL EXPENDITURES OF TEN MASSACHUSETTS CITIES, 1927, 1933, 1938

CITY	TOTAL EXPENDITURES			PERCENTAGE CHANGE, 1927-1938
	1927	1933	1938	
Group I				
Springfield.....	\$8,939,618	\$9,603,017	\$10,227,711	+14.4
Cambridge.....	6,934,534	8,086,172	7,911,523	+14.1
New Bedford.....	6,800,042	4,370,719	5,703,582	-16.1
Group II				
Newton.....	4,422,866	4,474,033	5,072,432	+14.7
Holyoke.....	3,059,678	2,645,603	2,884,734	-5.7
Pittsfield.....	1,852,750	2,364,300	2,808,176	+51.6
Chicopee.....	1,705,242	1,852,206	1,876,837	+10.1
Group III				
Northampton.....	899,825	1,012,045	1,017,819	+13.1
North Adams.....	819,989	882,264	1,099,063	+34.0
Westfield.....	818,988	891,234	997,201	+21.8

Total expenditures include figures for maintenance and outlays. They do not include those for public utility enterprises which were municipally owned in some cities and not in others, and which as self-supporting undertakings are subject to separate accounting. Expenditures for debt and debt services, agency and trust funds are excluded because of the impossibility of securing comparable figures. Federal grants for work relief are also excluded here, and the city contributions to the W. P. A. which were generally undistributed and in two cases unavailable.

been in a position to draw upon reserves built up when revenue was easily raised.<sup>6</sup>

The per capita expenditures between 1927 and 1938 showed comparatively little change. No city in any of three selected years spent less than \$40.00 per capita or more than \$96.00. (See Table III.) The highest per capita average for the ten cities in any of the three years was \$62.73 in 1933 when the cost of caring for the

arate items in the later years was the four-fold increase in the amount for welfare, reflecting the expenditures for relief. (See Table IV.) This increase was accompanied by corresponding decreases in every other single item, but the amount expended for welfare was so large that the total expenditures increased after 1933. The largest percentage decreases were in the expenditures for recreation, highways, and health and sanitation, and the larger part of the change in almost

<sup>5</sup> The latest year for which figures were available.

<sup>6</sup> Van De Woestyne, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

every case was made between 1927 and 1933.

Before the depression the item for schools was everywhere the largest in

TABLE III

TOTAL PER CAPITA EXPENDITURES, 1927, 1933, 1938

CITY	1927	1933	1938
Average .....	\$60.39	\$62.73	\$56.93
Group I			
Springfield.....	74.54	82.53	68.35
Cambridge.....	68.00	85.54	67.00
New Bedford...	73.67	52.09	51.84
Group II			
Newton.....	95.74	83.42	90.35
Holyoke.....	61.23	59.96	43.61
Pittsfield.....	49.48	59.65	59.10
Chicopee.....	50.44	54.92	44.74
Group III			
Northampton...	42.10	44.92	41.50
North Adams..	42.41	49.62	49.77
Westfield.....	46.18	54.66	53.08

Source: The per capita figures for 1927, 1933 and 1938 are based upon the population figures in the State census for 1925, the Federal census for 1930 and the State census for 1935 respectively.

cities. (See Table V.) Another striking change in connection with municipal spending for relief was the ratio between this amount and sums collected for private philanthropy. The Community Chests include most of the private contributions. In 1927 the chest funds totaled more than 30 percent of combined public and private relief expenditure in each of the five cities for which the information was available. In 1938, however, these private funds were less than 15 percent of combined welfare expenditures in six of the seven cities which had community chests in that year. (See Table VI.)

The major part of the expenditures for welfare was devoted to Outdoor Relief and Old Age Assistance, which together formed about two-thirds of the total expenditures for relief. (See Table VII.) The cities were assisted very substantially by the work relief programs of the W. P. A. The earnings of residents employed by the W. P. A. amounted in

TABLE IV

TOTAL EXPENDITURES FOR SELECTED ITEMS IN TEN MASSACHUSETTS CITIES, 1927, 1933, 1938

ITEM	1927	1933	1938	PERCENTAGE CHANGE, 1927-1938
Total.....	\$36,253,532	\$36,181,593	\$39,599,079	+9.2
Schools.....	12,815,537	11,057,764	11,185,857	-12.7
Welfare.....	2,109,924	9,012,219	10,610,014	+402.9
Protection of Persons and Property	6,285,092	6,055,263	6,107,528	-2.8
Highways.....	6,915,377	3,470,801	4,261,503	-38.4
Health and Sanitation.....	4,157,890	3,624,491	2,665,658	-35.9
Recreation.....	1,280,773	819,598	710,638	-44.5
Libraries.....	601,175	580,371	579,998	-3.5
All Other*	2,087,764	1,561,086	3,477,883	+66.6

\* All Other includes expenditures for general government, pensions, cemeteries, and unclassified expenditures.

municipal budgets, but by 1938 more was spent for welfare than for education in four of the ten cities. In this year welfare expenditures constituted more than one-quarter of the total in seven

1938 to over \$2,000,000 in the case of Cambridge, New Bedford, and Springfield, over \$1,500,000 in Holyoke, and to more than \$600,000 in every other city except North Adams, Northampton, and



Westfield, the cities with the smallest population.<sup>7</sup>

In six of the ten cities the expenditures for education decreased by substantial amounts between 1927 and 1938. This occurred with a declining school popula-

was \$103.98, actually \$11.69 higher than that for 1927. (See Table VIII.)

The largest actual decrease in the expenditures of the ten cities was that for highways. Regular highway expenditures declined more than 60 percent in

TABLE V  
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURES FOR SELECTED ITEMS, 1938

CITY	SCHOOL	WELFARE	PROTECTION OF PERSONS AND PROPERTY	HIGHWAYS	HEALTH AND SANITATION	RECREATION	LIBRARIES
Group I							
Springfield.....	28.2	27.1	17.1	5.6	7.5	2.9	1.9
Cambridge.....	24.2	24.6	15.3	15.7	7.5	1.6	1.0
New Bedford.....	26.0	34.2	15.1	9.5	5.9	1.1	1.1
Group II							
Newton.....	35.2	15.0	12.8	17.4	8.8	2.5	1.8
Holyoke.....	27.0	26.1	21.2	7.0	5.6	1.9	1.3
Pittsfield.....	27.6	35.8	11.1	12.0	4.5	.8	1.1
Chicopee.....	32.1	30.0	16.4	6.5	5.3	.5	1.0
Group III							
Northampton.....	30.2	27.0	14.4	12.7	4.5	.1	2.2
North Adams.....	25.9	32.4	11.8	16.6	4.3	.2	1.8
Westfield.....	37.0	22.3	12.5	13.8	4.4	.9	2.2

TABLE VI  
PUBLIC AND PRIVATE WELFARE EXPENDITURES, 1938

CITY	TOTAL	PUBLIC	PRIVATE*
Springfield.....	\$3,094,880	\$2,769,783	\$325,097
New Bedford....	2,034,903	1,952,862	82,041
Newton.....	959,594	762,987	196,607
Holyoke.....	822,107	753,658	68,449
Pittsfield.....	1,161,144	1,006,254	154,890
Northampton...	312,217	274,717	37,500
North Adams...	394,512	355,599	38,913

\* Community Chest.

Community Chest figures supplied by Community Chest and Councils Incorporated, New York City.

tion, however, and in only two instances, Springfield and New Bedford, was there a decline in the expenditures per child attending school. The average for 1938

<sup>7</sup> Figures supplied by the Administrator of the Federal Works Agency of the Work Projects Administration for Massachusetts.

four of the cities. It is difficult to form an estimate of the importance of the Federal contributions in the W. P. A. highway projects. In the early part of this program it was assumed that these projects contributed to by the Federal Government would be outside necessary routine construction, but in many cases they became indistinguishable in character from those which the cities would have been compelled to undertake even without aid.

In the case of expenditures for health, amounts in 1938 were in three cases less than one-half of those in 1927, and had decreased in every city. Newton, which had spent by far the largest per capita amount in 1927, reduced it in 1938 to \$6.72. (See Tables IX and X.) In some instances the city health departments were unwilling to admit that the decreases had resulted in any lowering of standards

for health protection. They explain them and state authorities. Progress was as the results of administrative efficiency, doubtless made through all these avenues

TABLE VII  
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RELIEF EXPENDITURES, 1938

CITY	OUTDOOR RELIEF	OLD AGE ASSISTANCE	SOLDIERS' BENEFITS	AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN	INDOOR RELIEF	ADMIN- ISTRATION
Group I						
Springfield.....	45.6	30.8	8.5	6.2	4.2	4.7
Cambridge.....	58.3	21.3	5.1	10.0	3.4	1.9
New Bedford.....	40.2	43.2	6.5	5.6	3.3	1.2
Group II						
Newton.....	48.9	23.5	12.3	12.1	1.4	1.8
Holyoke.....	41.9	32.3	8.1	8.0	7.1	2.6
Pittsfield.....	56.3	28.1	7.5	4.4	2.1	1.6
Chicopee.....	51.8	13.9	12.4	13.3	5.5	3.1
Group III						
Northampton.....	32.6	39.2	14.1	7.4	3.8	2.9
North Adams.....	31.3	49.1	7.7	8.0	2.2	1.7
Westfield.....	38.9	42.9	3.5	7.6	4.5	2.6

TABLE VIII  
EXPENDITURE FOR EDUCATION PER CHILD  
ATTENDING SCHOOL, 1927 AND 1938\*

CITY	EXPENDITURE PER CHILD		PERCENTAGE CHANGE, 1927-1938
	1927	1938	
Average.....	\$92.29	\$103.98	+12.7
Group I			
Springfield.....	121.83	117.50	-3.6
Cambridge.....	99.73	121.30	+21.6
New Bedford....	89.09	83.74	-6.0
Group II			
Newton.....	114.99	128.77	+12.0
Holyoke.....	108.58	114.67	+5.6
Pittsfield.....	83.62	90.44	+8.2
Chicopee.....	76.64	97.32	+27.0
Group III			
Northampton...	79.70	95.58	+19.9
North Adams...	81.67	88.80	+8.7
Westfield.....	67.00	101.69	+51.8

\* Based on net daily attendance.

Source: Massachusetts Department of Education, *Annual Report*, 1927, Part II, p. 11; *Annual Report*, 1938. Public Day Schools, p. 11. Evening and Vocational, p. 190.

the success of preventive medicine and savings through cooperation with county

but it seems unlikely that the standards could have been maintained throughout in the face of such substantial cuts during an eleven year period.

The expenditures for recreation showed very wide differences in per capita amounts, ranging in 1938 from a few cents to \$2.00. Actual and per capita expenditures were less in 1938 than in 1927 for every city except North Adams and Westfield.

The W. P. A. projects, designed primarily for relief, without doubt contributed to the resources of the cities in connection with all of the items separately tabulated, although it is not always possible to estimate the extent to which this was the case as the Federal contributions were not classified according to the city departments which set up the projects. The cities' financial shares in the W. P. A. programs likewise served the double purpose of giving employment and extending the various city services, but with the exception of highways, relatively small amounts were expended.

TABLE IX  
PER CAPITA EXPENDITURES FOR SELECTED ITEMS, 1927

CITY	SCHOOLS	WELFARE	PROTECTION OF PERSONS AND PROPERTY	HIGHWAYS	HEALTH AND SANITATION	RECREATION	LIBRARIES
Group I							
Springfield.....	\$24.78	\$2.01	\$11.59	\$10.48	\$5.60	\$3.52	\$1.29
Cambridge.....	14.66	5.60	9.90	12.07	8.61	2.94	.70
New Bedford.....	20.36	3.96	10.02	11.29	6.66	.94	.72
Group II							
Newton.....	34.88	1.56	11.76	14.94	12.04	3.08	1.53
Holyoke.....	15.77	4.18	10.66	9.15	5.36	1.56	.71
Pittsfield.....	14.97	1.64	6.10	8.42	4.25	.71	.58
Chicopee.....	13.35	3.42	7.46	8.28	4.87	.31	.53
Group III							
Northampton.....	16.87	1.73	5.61	6.81	2.26	.09	1.65
North Adams.....	13.58	2.13	5.68	8.37	2.39	.09	.69
Westfield.....	17.04	1.83	6.61	9.85	3.18	.40	1.03

TABLE X  
PER CAPITA EXPENDITURES FOR SELECTED ITEMS, 1938

CITY	SCHOOLS	WELFARE	PROTECTION OF PERSONS AND PROPERTY	HIGHWAYS	HEALTH AND SANITATION	RECREATION	LIBRARIES
Group I							
Springfield.....	\$19.29	\$18.51	\$11.68	\$3.84	\$5.16	\$1.99	\$1.28
Cambridge.....	16.24	16.50	10.27	10.50	4.99	1.04	.69
New Bedford.....	13.48	17.75	7.85	4.91	3.04	.54	.59
Group II							
Newton.....	27.00	11.54	9.85	13.31	6.72	1.93	1.39
Holyoke.....	13.80	13.42	10.91	3.55	2.86	1.00	.68
Pittsfield.....	16.29	21.18	6.57	7.09	2.68	.48	.63
Chicopee.....	14.35	13.43	7.33	2.90	2.39	.23	.44
Group III							
Northampton.....	12.55	11.20	5.96	5.26	1.86	.56	.90
North Adams.....	12.88	16.10	5.86	8.24	2.13	.11	.88
Westfield.....	19.66	11.84	6.61	7.33	2.33	.50	1.14

## CONCLUSION

It has been seen that the cities studied all made greatly increased expenditures for relief during the depression period. These were decided upon hurriedly to prevent actual destitution. Corresponding retrenchments were made all along the line in other city services, and in some cases the cuts were so drastic as to threaten the effectiveness of the services.

The cities are now in need of revising standards and reapportioning their resources. Their collective experience should be analyzed in order that norms of per capita expenditure for the various services may be defined and established. Separate norms are needed for cities of different sizes. Only by such a study of experience can cities hope to maintain standards and give the maximum service which their resources make possible.



## NAZI INFLUENCE ON GERMAN YOUTH HOSTELS

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## I

THE youth hostel movement, originating in Germany in 1909, has spread since the first World War to every important country in Europe, save Russia, and as far afield as the United States and Canada. Despite this fact, the movement has not been subjected to any systematic sociological investigation. It might well be studied as an instance of collective behavior, with the purpose of arriving at a clearer understanding of the way a movement arises, develops, and becomes institutionalized.

Sociologists, interested in studying social movements, have, on the whole, been most concerned to get at the typical process involved, abstracting it, for the purposes of analysis, from other complicating movements in the community or society.

One aspect of social movements in particular, however, has not been adequately studied: what happens to a movement of one type when another movement, perhaps of greater stature and influence, and arising out of the same basic social and cultural conditions but taking a different direction, impinges upon it? Are the two movements likely to converge and coalesce, and if so how is this likely to affect their future development? In short, when any given movement grows and develops in power, what relation to the dominant groups in that society does it tend to take?

It may be assumed that, as any movement grows, the dominant groups within the society attempt to enter into it and to divert it to their own advantage.

Particularly in a society undergoing change, where a new elite and a different ideology are developing, the general or more central movement will impinge on the other segmental movement and modify it, subordinating it to the purposes of the more central movement.

The development of youth hostels in Germany during the period in which German society was being reorganized under Nazi leadership provides an excellent opportunity to check the foregoing hypothesis. The typical hostel system tends to encourage and develop cosmopolitan attitudes among its members. Hostellers generally acquire some degree of international sympathy and understanding, a process strongly facilitated by the primary contacts which the youth hostel fosters.<sup>1</sup> However, a radical shift in a country's political ideology, such as occurred in Germany, must affect the character of international sympathy and understanding among hostellers: as the nation is swept with heightened nationalistic sentiment, it tends to curtail educational programs of the hostels that are designed to foster world friendliness, and to divert the hostel movement to the accomplishment of new objectives.

This paper, therefore, attempts to show, (1) how the youth hostels in Germany have functioned to foster internationalism prior to the advent of the Nazis, and (2) how a change in the political ideology attendant upon the Nazi movement

<sup>1</sup>See article by John and Mavis Biesanz, "Social Distance in the Youth Hostel Movement," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXV, January-February, 1941, pp. 237-245.

brought about corresponding changes in the ideology of the hostel system within Germany. In another paper the writer proposes to show how Germany has used the hostels as an effective propaganda device among her minority groups in other countries in her "Drang nach Osten."<sup>2</sup>

Typical youth hostels are inexpensive lodgings catering to traveling members of both sexes whose interest is principally one of hiking or cycling. They are located at places affording ready access to points of interest—cities, historical sites, scenic places, outdoor recreational centers.

The types of contacts fostered by the youth hostel are characteristically democratic. All young people are welcome irrespective of race, nationality, class, creed, or political allegiance. In addition to this total absence of discrimination the fact that everyone pays the same price for food and lodging makes conspicuous consumption impossible, while all dress in more or less the same type of simple clothing. Intimate forms of address are used such as *du* and *tu*, instead of *Sie* and *vous*. Dormitory facilities, cooking apparatus, and all recreational activities are shared. Hostellers wait on themselves; moreover, they participate in cleaning, dish washing, and other work of a general nature.

Hostels are always supervised, usually by married couples who are in the work because of their interest in youth; the remuneration is on the whole too small to make the service commercially profitable. With few exceptions hostel leaders, consisting largely of educators and other idealists interested in youth problems,

contribute their time to the organization and administration of the youth hostels without monetary compensation.

## II

Richard Schirrmann, school teacher, founder, and promoter of hostels in an unofficial capacity even today, regarded the improvement of health as a primary object of the youth hostel movement. He led his school children from the crowded city into the open country for overnight or longer hikes. He stressed outdoor exercise, abstinence from smoking and drinking, and regular hours of sleep. Moreover, he made hostel life as democratic and inexpensive as possible.

Attracted by this inexpensive mode of traveling, as well as by the absence of ethnocentrism, thousands of young people from many countries spent their vacations hiking and cycling throughout Germany. One of the significant results of the commingling of young people in the democratic milieu of the youth hostel has been the development of international friendship. In short, hostel membership together with mutual interests and activities minimized national prejudices: through intimate participation in the collective representations young people were drawn together into a close and intimate relationship.

Originally hostels were used largely by school children. However, with the growing unrest following the World War, the movement gained further momentum. Specifically, such factors as the growth of cities, depressed economic conditions, and increased regimentation of life augmented general unrest in Germany. Among youth faced with a bleak future, possessing little money, and suffering from poor health unrest was most acutely felt. It was in an

<sup>2</sup>See "The Nazi Youth Hostel Among German Minorities in Other Countries," *Social Science*, Spring Number.

attempt to cope with these problems that organized recreational activities were fostered. Hosteling with its inexpensive mode of traveling (costing as little as five cents a night for minors and ten cents for adults) came to be recognized as an important means for the improvement of health as well as for the control of unrest. Consequently the young people—particularly students, teachers, white collar workers, and professionals—began to participate in the youth hostel movement.

In actual importance this thirty-year-old movement is essentially a post-war phenomenon. As the factors outlined above came into play the 60,000 overnights registered in 1919 multiplied over eight times to a figure of 506,000 within two years, then mounted steadily to 4,630,683 in 1933.

The German youth hostel naturally spread into other countries as an increasing number of foreigners became acquainted with it. Typically, a group of enthusiastic youth, newly returned from hosteling in Germany helped to organize hostel systems in their respective countries. Thus, in the main, hostels in these countries were patterned in a large measure according to the principles laid down by Schirrmann and his followers. On a multitude of questions, by request, Schirrmann gave advice; on several occasions he made extensive hostel trips to other countries, giving assistance gratuitously. However, in a few instances the systems have deviated somewhat from the original pattern, due to the dominant institutional arrangement of the society.

World hostel usage was increasing steadily until the outbreak of the present war. Conservatively, one might estimate (1938) 11,000,000 overnights in some 5,000 youth hostels located in about twenty-five countries. Of this total,

8,750,000 overnights were spent in Germany's 2,000 hostels.<sup>3</sup>

Hostel leaders formed an international association in 1932, electing Schirrmann as president, and locating the secretariat at Amsterdam. Its aims were great, but its powers few and its finances negligible. None the less, the group of cosmopolitan school teachers and other unpaid visionaries, who led the movement in their own countries and enthusiastically attended the international meetings, has been convinced that the youth hostel movement embraces, on an experimental and model scale at least, vast opportunities for the creation of an ideal world. The writings of these leaders, their concrete activities, and their statements in interviews with the writer—all point to their hope of the establishment of some degree of international understanding among youth.

### III

Then, in 1933, the Nazis came to power. There is evidence that even before their ascendancy the new elite had visualized the hostel's utility for fascistic indoctrination, both of Germany's youth and of foreign hostellers visiting the country. Steadily and progressively the movement was drained of cosmopolitanism, suffused with National Socialism.

<sup>3</sup> An estimate from figures available on separate countries, given the writer by the international secretary at Amsterdam. The German figure comes from the national office, Berlin. Hostel overnights for 1939, cut down considerably by the European war, are estimated at 10,000,000 by the American hostel headquarters.

Due to varying definitions and the slowness of reports from the countries concerned there is no agreement on the number of overnights, the number of hostels, or even the number of countries which possess hostels. In the years 1934, 1935, 1938, and 1939 the writer has visited youth hostels in twenty countries.



In April Baldur von Schirach, newly appointed Reich leader of the youth, stressed the importance of incorporating the hostel organization within the framework of the Nazi program. Herr Lloyd, German head of their international youth hostel service, briefly summarized for the writer the fascist aims in regard to youth hostels.

Before National Socialism came to power hostels were only overnight places; today they are cultural centers. . . . The present movement is part and parcel of the rest of the German regime. . . . we have only one party, and it is of course natural that its interests, which are the interests of the German folk, should be furthered.

As part of the wider regime, the hostels have their part to contribute. This, in particular, involves allowing the young people to wander throughout their homeland, acquiring a wider love for it, a deeper desire to further its interests, a friendship with those met on the ways and those with whom they travel which binds all Germany together.<sup>4</sup>

The official hostel magazine, *Jugend und Heimat* (Youth and Native Land), is even more outspoken in showing the relationship between the youth hostels and Nazi aims.

The youth hostel itself. . . must be the home of the Hitler youth. Every day, every evening, boys and girls must assemble for earnest work and cheerful play under its roof. Here must also the poorest, the one alone, feel at home. The picture of our leader should look down on the children, as they take pains time and again, through lectures and discussions, to enter into the ideals of our movement. . . .

There is a tremendous importance in having the proper leaders. Wander leaders must be reliable in their loyalty to Adolf Hitler. They must lead their young people into the ways and wishes of the national revolution. . . . Our youth must be ready to serve the Fatherland, which they have seen and wandered through, every hour and every day of their lives. . . and to follow our leader, Adolf Hitler, on every path

he indicates. They must be ready to intercede for the honor and freedom of our God-given Fatherland.<sup>5</sup>

He who builds youth hostels sees to it that the political education of the German youth towards an indissoluble unity of the German community is furthered, and thereby contributes to the immortalization of the Third Reich.<sup>6</sup>

Hitler youth go on outings in order to see their home. Impressively, a trip takes place to the eastern boundary of our Fatherland. Right on that very spot it becomes clear to the young German that he must stake his best against robber enemies in order to preserve blood and soil. He who returns from this border will take back a piece of Germany with him.<sup>7</sup>

This redefinition of the hostel movement involved a transference and reinterpretation of hostel symbols to fit the Nazi objectives. The result was a hybrid ideology. Partisanship is rationalized; "Germany has only one party." Nationalism is given a militant character. The *Wandervögel* and the carefree hostellers of pre-Hitler days are branded as "eccentric," "undisciplined," and "irresponsible," and are associated with the discredited ideas of Marxism and liberalism.

The change in political ideology brought about several important alterations in hostel organization. First, Schirrmann was asked to retire from active leadership, and a young Nazi who had never before used hostels was given the presidency. At the same time all hostel parents not in full accord with the new program of the new regime were eliminated.

Secondly, the international title of the official hostel magazine, *Die Jugendherberge* (The Youth Hostel), was changed to the more localized caption of *Jugend und Heimat* (Youth and Native Land). At once the magazine discarded its broader point of view and became a political

<sup>4</sup> *Jugend und Heimat* (October, 1933), p. 174.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* (January, 1935), p. 17.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* (October, 1936), p. 173.

<sup>4</sup> Personal Interview in Berlin (May, 1939).

organ for the dissemination of Nazi ideologies. At present it glorifies the local landscape, architecture, and other phases of German cultural achievements designed to impress young people with the idea of national superiority, and exhorts them to do their part in the "defensive war."

Thirdly, the free and democratic hostel atmosphere, characteristic of the former era, has now given way to regimentation: Hitler's picture is displayed in the general room of every hostel; "Heil Hitler" is the officially required password on arrival and departure; house parents are quite often party officials, dressed in uniform; hostel radios are tuned in on National Socialist programs; the hostels themselves are not infrequently used for political activities. There is less individual and small group wandering; the visitor constantly meets large groups on the German roads who, dressed in the clothes of the *Hitler Jugend*, bearing flags and singing political songs, march in lock step from hostel to hostel. Such changes as these have tended to make the contacts of foreigners with the German youth increasingly categorical.<sup>8</sup>

During the present war, "strengthening the inner front" has been emphasized as the task of the youth too young to fight. The 1940 issues of *Jugend und Heimat* describe the utilization of hostels as hospitals, refuges, and barracks, and the military training of the Hitler Youth. Interest is manifested in the founding of hostels in Italy.

<sup>8</sup> Foreign overnights in German youth hostels for the years 1935, 1936, 1937, and 1938 were 106,360, 196,591, 215,847, and 209,706, respectively. These figures were compiled for the writer at national headquarters, Berlin.

This increase is due in part to the growth of knowledge abroad of Germany's inexpensive hostel system, in part to the bargain rate travel marks which the Nazi government offered visitors.

Finally, various activities of the youth hostel were much restricted. Political discussion, in particular, became one-sided and stereotyped: foreigners rarely took part in a serious and frank exchange of political ideas with the German young people.

How was it possible for the hostel movement, the ideals of which appear to be antithetical to those of National Socialism, to yield so readily to this program? One clue may be found in their parallel rise; both movements are essentially outgrowths of post-war unrest. The two sentiments of the German people which found in the Hitler movement an anchorage and a promise of fulfillment have been described as "a strong patriotic feeling which demanded the unity of the German people and a desire for social justice, which opposed the class struggle and class divisions."<sup>9</sup>

These were also objectives of hosteling, for after the upheaval of the World War Schirrmann pleaded that the friendliness of hosteling could help to erase class distinctions and restore national unity. Professor P. J. Müller, former International President of hostels, commented in an interview at Luxemburg in July, 1939:

"Schirrmann was in some ways the forerunner of National Socialism in his study of folk lore, customs, and dances, and his love of the national culture; but in significant points hosteling is not the same."

What nationalism there was in the movement, however, co-existed with the emphasis on peace and internationalism. Hosteling was not a direct attack on the social order, being rather utopistic and visionary. Nazism was revolutionary. One was conciliatory; the other, militant. While international understanding was

<sup>9</sup>Theodore Abel, *Why Hitler Came Into Power*, p. 143.

perhaps the chief aim in the minds of hostel leaders, Hitler in *Mein Kampf* expressed hatred of the "international poisoners" of Germany.

However, it must not be assumed that all the original purposes and programs of the youth hostel were lost upon the advent of the Nazis, for such is not the case. In the first place, despite great political changes the German youth hostel still performs a number of its former functions, among which are the development of health, a decrease of class consciousness—for a strong drive is made in this direction by the government—and some decrease of social distance both among the Germans themselves and among Germans and foreigners. Secondly, the influx of foreigners has some value in that conversations with them represent one of the few, perhaps the only, untampered-with outside influence which enters the average young German's existence. Thirdly, the Germans are obviously anxious to win foreign adherents to their political views by means of the youth hostel—and this attempt assures some contact with divergent views. Obviously, foreign hostellers at present come only from Axis countries.

#### IV

The youth hostel movement had its chief original impetus in Germany im-

mediately after the World War. To cope more rationally with the general unrest among the youth this movement emphasized inexpensive health activities—walking and bicycling. The movement also emphasized the importance of world peace, and thus the informal discussion of international problems occupied a chief place among its activities.

With the rise of the Nazi regime the movement gained additional impetus: the number of larger hostels increased, overnights almost doubled within a five-year period, the amount of organized activity in connection with the hostels multiplied.

At the same time every politically vital aspect of the hostel was set in accord with Nazi lines: hostel organizers, house parents, hostellers, hostel literature. Thus a relatively independent movement, the German youth hostel, was not only dominated, but even rather thoroughly incorporated into another and a constantly aggrandizing movement, the spread of National Socialism. As these changes were introduced, internationalism subsided.

As this study illustrates, the course of a social movement is determined by its relation to contemporaneous movements affecting the existing major institutions in that society. It follows a continuously accommodative course.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO PUBLIC OPINION. By Harwood L. Childs. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1940. 151 pp. \$1.75.

CONQUERING THE MAN IN THE STREET. A Psychological Analysis of Propaganda in War, Fascism, and Politics. By Ellis Freeman. New York: The Vanguard Press, 1940. 356 pp. \$3.50.

WAR PROPAGANDA AND THE UNITED STATES. By Harold Lavine and James Wechsler. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940. 363 pp. \$2.75.

PROPAGANDA FOR WAR. The Campaign against American Neutrality, 1914-1917. By H. C. Peterson. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939. 357 pp. \$3.00.

THE STRATEGY OF TERROR. Europe's Inner Front. By Edmond Taylor. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940. 278 pp. \$2.50.

"The deadliest weapon of this war is propaganda," says a recent advertisement of the *The New York Times*. Whether or not we agree, certainly there is no denying the fact that the people of this country are much less naive about the pressures playing upon public opinion in wartime

than they were twenty-five years ago. Beginning immediately with the termination of the conflict, explanations and exposures of World War propaganda activities began the process which has led to the present preoccupation with techniques of making up the public's mind. The rise of the dictatorships, with their elaborate indoctrinational and propaganda machinery, together with their fully reported censorship efforts, continued the process. Finally, the beginning of the present war, reported in a way that familiarized even the illiterate with belligerents' interferences in all avenues of communication, carried the process to its culmination: everything communicable is now potentially propaganda; every dissenting opinion bears the taint of its poison.

In spite of this long exposure to information about the functioning of experts

in social control, there still is a popular demand for further enlightenment. At any rate, four of the five works here to be considered clearly were designed for the inquiring lay mind rather than for the specialist in propaganda. If by their footnotes ye shall know them, only Peterson, the historian, can be said to have used the academic impedimenta without regard to its deterring effect upon the general reader. Childs the political scientist, Freeman the psychologist, Lavine and Wechsler of The Institute for Propaganda Analysis staff, and Taylor the journalist, all are appealing to the same broad public as *The New York Times* when it advertises in *Time* that it has "the facts" a knowledge of which constitute one's best protection against propaganda.

Peterson has written what seems destined long to remain the most authoritative work on British World War propaganda organization and activities directed toward winning U. S. support for the Allies. Peterson secured access to confidential materials in the British Museum and the British Imperial War Museum which, if they survive the present war at all, will scarcely be available to American students of British propaganda for many years to come. Furthermore, so long as the American mood is for all aid to Britain, even though short of a declaration of war, it is doubtful that an American publisher could be found for a work such as this. *Scribner's Commentator* and the weekly pictorial, *Friday*, almost alone of current periodicals seem to discern a unified pattern in the activities of visiting British actors, artists, businessmen, comedians, lecturers, prelates, professors, writers, and other spokesmen, official and unofficial. Certainly it will take some time, barring a social revolution, for the secret diaries and memoirs of Britain's present leaders—indispensable for

a definitive treatment—to become available to students of the propaganda warfare of today.

Taylor, from the vantage point of an American correspondent in Paris, vividly reports the developing war on or "in" the psychological front from the summer of 1938 to the early spring of 1940, with emphasis on August, 1939. Based on observations and diary notations made by himself and his wife, his account is a very revealing though not systematic interpretation of Nazi propaganda strategy and tactics. The Nazi objectives of thoroughgoing disorganization and demoralization, however, are presented as if they were something new under the sun, and not simply systematic applications of principles clearly understood by both Allied and Central Powers, but most effectively employed by Allied propagandists, during the World War. Taylor's interpretation, incidentally, in many ways confirms Rauschnig's contention regarding the Nazi theory of foreign propaganda, viz., that it is a major division of the entire military machine, and by no means merely an insignificant sideline.

The work by Lavine and Wechsler, apart from the first chapter, recapitulates World War propaganda, is a compendium of materials illustrating the propaganda and products of every nation involved in the present war: books, magazines, pulps, pamphlets, and newspapers containing or dealing with propaganda; cartoons; censorship practices; lecturers; Ministries of Information and of Propaganda; moving pictures; organized pressure groups, such as Bundles for Britain, The German-American Bund, and World Peaceways, Inc.; radio programs; slogans; and propagandists of every stripe. Apparently nothing significant is omitted; but lacking clear-cut logical organization the book gives one the feeling of repetitiousness.



The great merit of the work, however, in the writer's opinion, is that it presents the actors, words, and action of the contemporary scene through the practiced eyes of professional propaganda observers. Their point of view, furthermore, seems as distinctively American, and neither pro-British nor pro-German, as is today humanly possible.

✓ Freeman's work is a strongly anti-pathetic interpretation of Fascist and Nazi internal propaganda, an attempt to account for its apparent success, and a warning against symptoms of analogous tendencies in the United States. His analysis, in the best armchair tradition, is mainly psychological, but utilizes psychoanalysis, anthropology, philosophy, history, social psychology, and sociology. Unlike the other writers here considered, Freeman unfortunately omits a statement of his special qualifications for making this study. The internal evidence, even more unfortunately, is also lacking. One wishes, for example, that his quotations from *My Battle*, the 1933 abridgment of Hitler's potent propaganda opus, had been replaced by references to the generally available complete translations of *Mein Kampf*. In other ways, too, but quite beyond Freeman's control, his work seems slightly dated. For even though its subtitle claims it to be, among other things, an "analysis of propaganda in war," the book has nothing to do with that subject.

Contrasting with the preceding work in its conciseness, very matter-of-fact style, and objective treatment of Nazi propaganda, Child's brief volume gives not only an introduction to the field and problems of public opinion, but contains several prefatory chapters on the problems of public relations. Their inclusion is accounted for on the grounds that the entire book is an outgrowth of a series of

lectures on public relations, but they might better have been combined in an appendix. Almost two-thirds of the space devoted to public opinion deals with propaganda. To the sociologist trained to regard *Folkways* as scripture this may seem a disproportionate emphasis. But if one impression emerges from a consideration of all the foregoing works, it is that of the tremendous importance, in our culture today, of propaganda, pressure groups, and the other consciously organized means of social control.

EDGAR A. SCHULER

*Louisiana State University*

THE WORLD'S NEED OF CHRIST. By Charles A. Ellwood. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1940. 237 pp. \$2.00.

*The World's Need of Christ* is a brave book that seeks to remove the reader from an historic moment when riotous social and national passions imperil everything human and worth while, that he may consider with long-time, intelligent thinking how men and women can live together in a common security and satisfaction. The author believes that there is but one way—to live in accord with the teaching of Jesus. In his advocacy of a solution for our major ills that has been and still is unpalatable to human nature, Dr. Ellwood shows not only courage but a distinguishing freedom from the prevailing madness. It is true, however, that strikes and wars do eventually come to an end and that then the survivors face the same question that provoked their conflict: How can nations, peoples, and individuals with differing interests live together so as in some measure to fulfill universal human need? Subtract the emotions that betray judgment, and this problem in its various concrete expressions can be dealt with more hopefully before

such collisions than afterward when contending forces have spent themselves in violence.

Modern civilization, says the author, represents a new type of barbarism, the product of self-centered individuals ruled for the most part by animal impulses and emotions (page 24). This is the result of a failure to understand the teachings of Christ and unwillingness to follow his way of life (pages 22-23). The bulk of professing Christians have held back from the program of Christ some portion of their behavior, such as the political or economic, or have failed to recognize how the principles of Jesus should be applied in certain spheres of action (page 33). Modern men and women have become body-minded and thing-minded (page 41). The basic command of Christ is that the individual seek an absolutely inclusive love of his fellow, and it is this core of his teaching that has been neglected, bringing modern society to its present disorganization and class and national antagonism.

The teachings of Jesus have been ignored in science and philosophy to such an extent that students of human society have even been led to believe themselves scientific in proportion as they avoid spiritual values and adhere to sensate or even mechanistic views of human relations (page 67). To uncover the meaning of his message Jesus used the family pattern at its best, stressing, as the values of life, love, loyalty, loving obedience, mutual service, and, when necessary, mutual sacrifice (page 73). Science and religion have perpetuated a needless conflict, the former clinging to a method rather than to total human experience, and the latter to tradition rather than to truth (page 81). Business and industry have become ends in themselves. When carried on in true Christian spirit, they would become

means of redeeming mankind from ignorance, disease, poverty, exploitation, fear, hate, and hostile conflict of individuals and groups (page 43). The state has continued as essentially a war organization instead of becoming an instrument of cooperation and brotherhood between people. Unless the spirit of Jesus is practiced in international relationship, ceaseless conflict between peoples is unescapable whether we have conditions of fictitious peace or open warfare (page 156).

The way out of our troubles is for the church to insist that its members achieve a spiritual mindedness that dominates body mindedness, recognize the absolute obligation of universal love, and commit themselves to a dynamic consecration for the building of the kingdom of God (pages 193-197).

Dr. Ellwood always writes clearly and with a dexterity too rarely found among American scientists. Never has he been more forceful, more intensely earnest, more penetrating than in *The World's Need of Christ*. The sad fact is that those who most need to read this book are likely because of its title to pass it by.

ERNEST R. GROVES

*University of North Carolina*

SOCIAL PROBLEMS. By Carl M. Rosenquist. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940. 519 pp. \$3.00.

Dissatisfaction with textbooks on social problems or social pathology is widespread among sociologists. Each new contribution is scrutinized with hope. Rosenquist's *Social Problems* covers the usual range of "problems," devoting seven chapters to problems concerning the family, six to problems of an economic nature, three to problems related to community changes, and one each to geographical disasters, political maladjustment, physical defectiveness, disease,

mental deficiency, mental derangement, juvenile delinquency, crime, and race-nationality problems.

The author is successful in his attempt to present material in a simple, straightforward manner, avoiding excessive documentation and laborious dependence upon statistical data. His aim obviously is to reach the undergraduate student. A brief selected bibliography follows each chapter.

Most recent texts in this field give adequate treatment to well selected, up-to-date materials on the various topics. The teacher searching for a suitable textbook selects mainly on the basis of the point of view from which the book is organized and the problems analyzed. There seem to be a number of points of view each claiming to be "sociological." The author devotes an introductory chapter to this situation, taking the position that social problems cannot be defined and explained from any single viewpoint be it social change, social conflict, social disorganization, or organismic analogy. He ends by defining a social problem merely as any social condition or process viewed as bad by public opinion and which society attempts to eliminate or cure. The problems are then treated as "manifestations of society itself." A chapter on American Industrial Society serves as an economic backdrop for analysis of the selected problems.

Those looking for an acceptable theoretical framework upon which to organize materials and concepts in this field may be disappointed. But this is true with other comparable volumes with one or two possible exceptions. Doubtless this book will have numerous adoptions for introductory courses in social problems or social pathology. Its simplicity will be an important recommendation to many, although some may feel that we have al-

ready "written down" too much to undergraduates.

GORDON BLACKWELL

*Furman University*

**SOCIAL PATHOLOGY: OBSTACLES TO SOCIAL PARTICIPATION.** By Stuart Alfred Queen and Jennette Rowe Gruener. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1940. 662 pp. \$3.50.

The revision of this well known text in social pathology not only gives new information and new data but reorganizes the materials of social pathology around the central question of how various social handicaps affect social participation. This viewpoint serves to bring into focus the essentially social nature of many pathologies, not only on the organic side of social maladjustment involving poverty, unemployment, limited schooling, but also the mental disorders and physical handicaps which may be conditioned by social participation. Old age, for instance, is one problem that clearly involves new techniques. Aging may be a natural growth or it may be progress in infirmity. "Really adequate provision for social life in old age would go far beyond anything that has yet been done," as these authors say. It would involve a new sort of employment attitudes and new forms of toleration.

The economic forms of deprivation are among the most persistent. Yet the economic man being a straw man, economic problems represent a configuration of issues, and many of them involve group participation. Class barriers have in part created the "poor white" class and yet the class has little effective solidarity. Turning from these to the mental deviates it has been discovered from case evidence as well as from common observation that the attitudes of people toward them is a matter of great significance.

The volume is free from any kind of



panacean alarmism, since the data are utilized not to establish a case for social breakdown or disorganization but to indicate the functional values in social withdrawal and contact. There is, of course, another side to social contact. It seems fairly obvious that some of the individual failures in adjustment are not caused by lack of social contact but by overprotection and isolation. Families, educators, social workers, therefore, must bear a heavy part of the responsibility in reducing pathologies by encouraging, guiding, and providing during the school years the most satisfying types of social contact. In all of these aspects of social life and education too little rather than too much effort has been expended in the attempt to bring about happy adjustments.

Without using the word democracy in the doctrinal sense the authors have shown what its utilities are in reducing pathologies. They touch upon the sociological significance of treatment procedures for persons confined to institutions, and they hint that society itself might do much more to make the forces of industrial change and of science solve social problems and keep pathologies within manageable limits.

GUY V. PRICE

*Teachers College,  
Kansas City, Missouri*

THE SOUTH IN PROGRESS. By Katharine DuPre Lumpkin. New York: International Publishers, 1940. 256 pp. \$2.50.

During the past few years regional studies issued by southern publishers under such titles as *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy*, *The Wasted Land*, *Seven Lean Years*, have given a comprehensive picture of what Howard W. Odum has called "the South at its worst." There are many indications that in the new decade students of the southern scene will focus their research on

the development of the South. It is interesting that one of the first of the studies published in 1940 should strike in its title the keynote of "progress," a word that for many years has been a virtual monopoly of the Southern Manufacturers Association and their *Blue Book of Southern Progress*.

The optimistic title covers a study of the problems of the South undertaken by a southern-born social economist, at the request of the Labor Research Association of New York. The stated purpose of the book is to help enlarge the area of common understanding between socially minded northerners and southerners. Its opening chapters give a conventional treatment of the cotton economy and sharecropping, largely summarized from familiar texts and government reports. The succeeding sections on industry and livelihood, partly based on Dr. Lumpkin's own research, contain much fresher material and are less academic in style. The rest of the book develops the theme of progress in the South from the point of view of the industrial unionist. Although the South is fifty years behind the Northeast industrially ("it took a Civil War to open up the southern states to modern industrialism"), still union organization is making notable headway among millworkers, miners, and sharecroppers under national legislation. The success of this movement, plus the development of organizations including both workers and "middle-class" people, is the chief criterion of southern progress during the past decade. With all its faults, the New Deal has done much for the South in such fields as soil conservation, public welfare, civil liberty, and labor organization. Further development, however, is entirely dependent on the continuance of this national policy. Should it cease, "the door of progress will have been slammed in the South's face."

Dr. Lumpkin took on a very difficult assignment: to speak unpleasant truths to her southern kinsmen and at the same time bring them to accept what to many of them will seem strange criteria of progress; to cheer on labor and the New Deal, and at the same time to bring them to accept some implications of the folkways of the South. If she falls short of achievement, it is obviously not for lack of courage and effort.

The book is carefully indexed and very fully documented, but except in Dr. Lumpkin's special field, most of the references are to secondary and often rather unconvincing sources. Perhaps in this very difficult job of double-barreled interpretation, the Bureau of Labor Research and its northern publishers might profitably take hints from a southern press that is very much "in progress" in this field. The fine art of balancing footnote and figure with the rich human material of modern photography and case study is on its way to becoming as distinctive a southern specialty as spoonbread or fried chicken. When labor research comes out of the missionary stage, we hope that Dr. Lumpkin will give us her own first-hand picture of the drama of the workers in the South, which is hinted at in the present volume but obscured by the selection of material and the technique of presentation.

ALICE DAVIS

*University of North Carolina*

CRITIQUES OF RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES:  
II. AN APPRAISAL OF FREDERICK C. MILLS' *The Behavior of Prices*. By Raymond T. Bye. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1940. 335 pp. \$1.00.

F. C. Mills' now famous *The Behavior of Prices* was published in 1927. Prior to that time many studies of price trends and movements had been made and published; but none had been especially concerned with isolating fundamental price patterns

and behavior modes. Mills' statistical analysis threw light upon, among other things, price equilibria, price variations, price interconnections, etc., all of which theretofore had been discussed by economic theorists but had not been subjected to much empirical, statistical analysis. Mills' work, therefore, exercised considerable influence upon methodology and theory in the field of price analysis and upon several nonprice fields of economic research. While the book was recognized at once as a great contribution to the history of American prices after 1890, it was not immediately accepted as an open sesame to pure price theory. In the years that have passed since 1927 Professor Mills has continued to turn out monographs, long and short, on American price and production movements,—works that, in a sense, have continued his pioneering effort of 1927.

Because of its importance, and as the result of a poll of economists and statisticians, Mills' work was chosen as the subject for the present critique, the purpose of which is to set in theoretical and methodological perspective quantitative subject matter of the sort treated by Dr. Mills. The present volume, while different in character, accordingly, is a companion volume to the critique of *The Polish Peasant* of Thomas and Znaniecki, sponsored by the Social Science Research Council several years ago. The critique here under examination includes a detailed critical analysis of Mills' work by Professor Bye, a reply by Professor Mills, the two extensive reviews of Viner and Mudgett published about 1928, a lengthy roundtable discussion of both Mills' work and Bye's critique, and a general commentary by Read Bain. The study is well indexed.

While this volume is concerned primarily with the behavior of certain eco-

conomic variables and with the methodology of their analysis, it deserves careful examination at the hands of both sociological statisticians and social theorists bent upon formulating theory in a manner conducive to, and consistent with, empirical approaches. Economists, especially those interested in price theory, will find this work most interesting and suggestive.

J. J. SPENGLER

Duke University

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL THOUGHT. By Emory S. Bogardus. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1940. 564 pp. \$3.50.

This book, containing the latest of the contributions of Professor Bogardus to the history of social thought, is intended not only to meet the demands of the sociology major, but also of other college students, "irrespective of the fields in which their special interests lie." In addition, it aims to meet the needs of the general public which, "has not made an acquaintance in a systematic and historical way with the social thought of the leaders of mankind in all ages and all cultures."

In line with the objective it is the stated intent of the author not to attempt a critique or to discuss "fine points," or "abstract and theoretical doctrines." Also the theories discussed are "presented first in terms of the social life that is represented by each theme. . . . Second, this history of social thought has unlimited possibilities for throwing light on the solution of social problems today."

Considering the magnitude of the task attempted, the book represents a contribution. The advanced student or the specialist in social theory might disagree with the general keynote of the book which appears to treat the development of social thought as representing the gradual development of democratic thinking. However, an appraisal of the book must be in

terms of the stated objectives of the author.

To those students familiar with the preceding books on the history of social thought by Professor Bogardus, interesting comparisons may appear. Although no mention is made of preceding books, yet major portions seem to be identical. The primary differences, for example, between this volume and the 1928 edition of *The History of Social Thought* appear to consist in the addition of chapters on such subjects as Japanese social thought, Russian thought, the theories of Simmel, Weber, and other Germans, and a section on Fascist thought. Another difference which may be important to the teacher is the fact that the actual quotations from authors appearing at the end of each chapter of *The History of Social Thought* do not appear in the book being discussed.

The intention of the author to present social thinkers on the background of their environments is admirable. For the beginning student or the general public such an approach might be considered indispensable. However, examination of the text reveals that this aim has not been adhered to too strictly. To cite one example: in the chapter entitled, "Kropotkin and Co-Operative Social Thought," we note treatments of such thinkers as Vico (1668-1744), Grotius (1583-1645), Kropotkin (1842-1921), and Ratzenhofer (1842-1904). Although these men represent diverse environments and in many cases, as for example, Grotius and Kropotkin, radically dissimilar chief emphases, no note is taken of this fact.

Some consideration should be given to the effort of Dr. Bogardus to examine the history of social thought in an effort to throw light on the social problems of the contemporary world. It is to be regretted that there is not a more extensive treatment of the social thought in contem-



porary Germany. A brief section is devoted to Pareto as representing the Fascist thinking but no mention is made of the Nazi theories in their relation to the development of German thought. Such an omission should not have been overlooked in a book appearing in 1940 with the intent of throwing light on contemporary problems.

JAMES E. FLEMING

*University of North Carolina*

THE COURSE OF AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC THOUGHT.  
By R. H. Gabriel. New York: Ronald Press,  
1940. 452 pp. \$4.00.

Very little systematic study of the history of American social philosophy may be found outside of literary and political treatises. Gabriel's book is a contribution to the understanding of our own intellectual past as well as an excellent indicator of some unexplored areas of social research.

Although the major emphasis is on the history of political thought, one becomes quickly aware that the author is actually dealing with the development of social theory politically oriented. Moreover, the approach is characterized by a contextual logic which assumes, on the one hand, that ideas do not occur *in vacuo*, and, on the other hand, that categories of thought move in definite, if complex, interaction with changing social situations. The method of treatment followed consists in weaving the mental pattern of successive periods with strands of categories, persons, and situations.

According to the author, three major ideas have persisted in the course of American democratic thought: the ideas of the fundamental law, of the free individual, and of the mission of America. This trinity comprises the core of "romantic democracy," which Gabriel considers as a "national faith" with the "power of a

State religion" and which he represents as having constantly been subjected to the fires of "realistic democracy"—caucuses and logrolling, the struggle for office, and sectional rivalries. Formed in the pre-Sumter days and tested by the Civil War, this faith was accommodated to the exigencies of an industrialized society with its accompanying scientific revolution. At the turn of the century, it became self-critical and then progressive only to come through the vast unsettlement of international anarchy with the threat of competitive systems of beliefs and action.

It is to be expected that such a wide scope as the author has undertaken does not permit of adequate documentation and citation. The book is an introductory study, but one which has been made valuable through wise generalization and a happy choice of men and topics. The author has given American democratic thought striking continuity—perhaps too much—by ingenious transitional devices and by recurring comparisons and contrasts. More or less obscure and previously less relevant thinkers have been lifted to attention; however, some of the summaries are not especially insightful. Unity and clarity have been secured if for no other reason than that the initial starting point is a period in American history when a new nationalism was cementing into a strong, durable thought-form the ideas by which Americans have defined the role of State and individual in an expanding democracy. This pattern is unfailingly in evidence in the book.

PAUL MEADOWS

*Western State Teachers College*

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS IN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH.  
By E. F. Lindquist. Boston: Houghton Mifflin  
Company, 1940. 266 pp. \$3.00.

STATISTICAL PROCEDURES AND THEIR MATHEMATICAL  
BASES. By Charles C. Peters and Walter R. Van  
Voorhis. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Com-  
pany, Inc., 1940. 516 pp. \$4.50.

These two books are alike in that both are oriented in the field of application of statistical methods to educational research and that both presuppose an elementary knowledge of statistics on the part of the reader. Moreover, they are alike as to excellence in achieving the major tasks set forth by their authors—by Lindquist of constructively interpreting the application in education of R. A. Fisher's methods; by Peters and Van Voorhis of explaining the mathematical origins of important statistical formulas in terms that can be followed by readers with little mathematical training. Both books are contributions important for the application of statistical methods in fields of social research other than education, since neither of the tasks has been attempted in an orientation of "social" statistics proper.

The similarity between the two volumes ends here, however. Almost the entire content of Lindquist's book is devoted to the application in education of the principles of design of experiment and the closely related methods of analysis of variance and covariance which have had their origin in agricultural biology. While the discrediting of this body of methods is by no means the primary object of the other book, scarcely an opportunity is missed throughout its pages to show points of superiority for what the authors term "classical" statistics.

There seem to be several major reasons for the dissatisfaction of Peters and Van Voorhis with Fisher's methods. First, they allege, the methods are suitable for only rough analysis since they only test the null hypothesis (as Peters and Van Voorhis define it, not as Fisher himself defines it.) That is,  $F$ 's and  $\chi^2$ 's test only the hypothesis that there is no association in the universe, and are therefore generally inferior to Kelley's epsilon which investigates *degree* of association, although it is

admitted that the form of the sampling distribution of epsilon is unknown. Secondly, the authors think the methods ill adapted to the analysis of data from any but independent random samples, whereas educational research often employs matched or otherwise correlated samples. Finally the authors' general appraisal seems to be that the approximations involved in certain procedures developed by Fisher (such as the  $Z'$  transformation for the correlation coefficient) and the assumptions necessary in others (homogeneous populations and equal sized samples) on the whole offer more disadvantages than advantages.

Lindquist, on the other hand, makes no defensive "case" for the Fisher methods but proceeds to show how many of the difficult problems of sampling and analysis of results in educational research are solved by the use of analysis of variance and covariance. There is the matter of intact groups which cannot be considered random samples, there is the matter of reduction of estimate in error variance when certain sources of error have been eliminated by design, there is the matter of using one experiment to obtain information on two sets of factors ("methods" and "devices"), there are many other problems which heretofore have been either ignored or unsatisfactorily handled, for all of which Lindquist shows the Fisher methods provide more precise and efficient techniques of design and analysis.

The fruitfulness or sterility of the applications of the "modern" methods in educational research will, of course, provide the verdict on the opposing points of view set forth by these two books. Meanwhile, those engaged in fields even further removed from agricultural research than education should be grateful for Lindquist's exposition of Fisher's methods in research situations somewhat more similar

to their own. At times the educational illustrations are in part analogous to the observational situations of sociologists and others who are still exploring the potentialities of the modern methods for their nonexperimental situations. The lucidity of Lindquist's explanation of procedures and the carefulness with which he sets forth the function of the procedures will be appreciated by those trying to learn the use of the new methods. Finally, his interpretations of measures of error and tests of hypotheses are completely free from any remnants of "inverse probability," to which many statisticians, including Peters and Van Voorhis, still cling.

MARGARET JARMAN HAGOOD

*University of North Carolina*

HOUSING IN SCANDINAVIA: URBAN AND RURAL.

By John Graham, Jr. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1940. 223 pp. \$2.50. Illustrated.

Mr. Graham, an architect now on the Technical Staff of the USHA, has given us a much needed comparative study of "socially significant" housing trends in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Finland. Most of this book is devoted to urban housing, which is analyzed under these topics: municipal land purchase and control, municipal housing, and housing societies. The entire treatment is well balanced, and, as might be anticipated, more material is presented about housing societies than any other topic. The important relationship between housing and town planning has very properly been emphasized, and it should be a welcome note that this study of urban housing has not been restricted to the capitol areas. In addition to the expected discussion of urban housing, there is also included a consideration of allotment gardens, garden suburbs, philanthropic housing, and indus-

trial housing. Rural housing and colonization are dealt with more briefly, but they have been carefully integrated with the problem of land tenure. The well chosen illustrations, maps, and format deserve special mention, as does the writer's description of his visits to housing projects and interviews with Scandinavian housing authorities. It is the adept handling of these visits and interviews that give realism to his account of urban and rural housing. While it should be the function of first hand observers thus to explain precept in terms of practice, it is an achievement to do it so well.

The reviewer is however not in accord with the author's justification of public land-purchase and regulation. This justification seems to be partially based upon the theory that land values are unique, and it is argued that such values depend on the presence of people who bring "the demand which determines land values" (pp. 3-8). The values of other goods and services are likewise dependent upon people who demand these goods and services; hence it is more logical to base government control and ownership upon the principle of general welfare. This principle is also used by the author in the case of land (p. 28), and later for the justification of government control and ownership of dwellings. Occasionally the reader obtains the impression that faults of the Scandinavian housing program have been minimized. The system of second and even third mortgages, the agricultural situation after 1930, and the reactions of private credit to municipal land ownership suggest difficulties that have been briefly dismissed. Frequent reference to dates and sources are perhaps a distraction to the casual reader, but to the student of housing, they are useful handles for events and ideas. The author unquestionably recognizes this practical difficulty, and the material is entirely satis-



factory for the casual reader. The student of housing might, however, legitimately ask for more dates and source references. The author has not said for what group of readers this book is intended. Nevertheless, the easy style and interesting material make it suitable for the casual reader, and the student of housing will find a large amount of information not elsewhere available.

DWIGHT P. FLANDERS

*Syracuse University*

FREEDOM OF THOUGHT IN THE OLD SOUTH. By Clement Eaton. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1940. 343 pp. \$3.00. Illustrated.

This volume which seeks to establish a correlation between the rise of the common man to political power and the stultification of free expression in the ante-bellum South was awarded the \$1,500 centennial prize offered in 1939 by Duke University Press for a scholarly manuscript in the field of social, literary, or artistic history of the United States. Fourteen illustrations are included in the volume: examples of southern mansions, a labor scene on a Mississippi cotton plantation, and pictures of upper class defenders and critics of slavery.

Dr. Eaton has written twelve chapters in which he treats of the post-Revolutionary period as a time of freedom of thought because of the existence of a small but powerful aristocracy which the eighteenth century had fostered; the encroachment upon this aristocracy in the ante-bellum period by the rise of a new aristocracy recruited from the middle class and, what was more devastating in his opinion, by the lowering of the bars to permit manhood suffrage; the feeble beginnings of public education and the resulting "dark cloud of illiteracy"; "the fear of servile insurrection"; the legal restrictions placed upon the contamination of slave property by means of education and the circulation

of abolition literature; "the Calhoun influence," which he pronounces unwholesome; the support which the press of the Upper South gave the slave interests; the haltering of academic freedom and exceptions thereto; the existence of nonconformist groups such as the Quakers and various German settlements; the rise of evangelism and "the decline of skepticism"; and a concluding chapter in which he attempts to show that all liberal thinking was dwarfed because of the insistence upon orthodoxy with respect to religion and slavery.

While one may disagree with Dr. Eaton's thesis, he must respect the author's honesty in declaring it in the preface and seeking to establish it in the first three chapters of the text. The thesis, however, requires also a frank statement of the author's definition of certain other terms basic to the discussion: liberalism, reform, minority rights, and, most important of all, slave interests, for he states in the preface that "the two great taboos in the social life of the Old South were the criticism of Southern slavery and heterodoxy in religion" (p. ix). The importance of the analysis of slave interests seems all the more essential in the light of the fact that, in the North, religious leaders were partly responsible for directing the anti-slavery movement and, in the South, the clergy blessed the pro-slavery agitation.

It would seem that Dr. Eaton has become so absorbed in his quest that he has lost sight of the *ding an sich*. It cannot be said that the evidence which he has marshaled has established the relationship which he claims. It seems apparent that the South would not tolerate open criticism of slavery but the correlation between this point and the rise of the common man to political power is not clear. The reviewer is of the opinion that the concept of manhood suffrage was in itself a liberal

movement. It was one of the numerous reform movements freely agitated and carried partly to fruition in the antebellum South. Among other such movements may be included an expanding concept of the obligation of society to care for the underprivileged, an expansion of the legal rights of the woman and the child, the freedom of the courts from a blind adherence to the common law, a more humanitarian concept of crime and a loosening of the criminal code, the education of the poor at public expense. The emancipation of the Negro slave was a part of this general upsurge of humanitarianism, and the chief phase of the movement against which the South stifled freedom of speech. But this is a relationship which Dr. Eaton has not pointed out.

Had the discussion been related throughout more closely to the economic realities of the period and a careful analysis of the content of thinking been made, it is possible that the author might have established a sounder framework around which to organize his data. Despite these criticisms, the book is stimulating and represents a prodigious amount of labor.

GUION GRIFFIS JOHNSON

*Chapel Hill, North Carolina*

PREFACE TO EUGENICS. By Frederick Osborn. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940. 312 pp. \$2.75.

FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICAN POPULATION POLICY. By Frank Lorimer, Ellen Winston, and Louise K. Kiser. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940. 178 pp. \$2.50.

In whatever departments population courses may be taught, these two books will be found appropriate for supplementary reading. They will be especially welcome and appreciated, however, by sociologists who teach population courses. For the books treat phases of the subject not heretofore covered satisfactorily, the one phase because it was preempted by a

group who ignored its sociological aspects, the other phase because it is too new to have received adequate treatment.

The sociologist, at least, has not considered the previous works on eugenics satisfactory because of their emphasis on the hereditary factors to an almost complete exclusion of environmental factors in the determination of the quality of a population. *Preface to Eugenics*, sociologists may hope, is an indication of a new era in the development of eugenics—an era in which both the research and the interpretation will be more realistic than in the past.

The advance of Osborn in this direction is suggested by the following selected paragraph headings of the conclusions of his chapters:

II. Genetic Factors for Intelligence Are Widely Scattered Throughout the Population.

III. Measures of Population Control Are Necessary to Cultural and Social Progress. Eugenic Measures Must Fit the Framework of Broader Population Policies.

VII. Radical Aspects of the Eugenics Movement.

For the first time is an authoritative and comprehensive summary of all relevant research findings in genetics presented in what the reviewer considers a balanced perspective with regard to other factors. The only defect noted is the overemphasis on "intelligence" as the criterion for population quality, although the scant scientific information on the incidence of socially desirable attitudes and motivation, or on emotional stability, or on other traits important for population quality, easily explains their omission.

*Foundations of American Population Policy* is the report of a study commissioned by the National Economic and Social Planning Association. Its advance over other recent population monographs is in its facing squarely the implications of the present population scene for the develop-

ment of a policy and its boldly proposing steps in the development of a population policy. The range of data examined includes the subjects treated in the National Resources Committee's *Problems of a Changing Population* augmented by a consideration of economic factors particularly in the field of consumption. Its major contribution is not in new data, but is in a new analysis and interpretation of data available with reference to the development of an American population policy.

MARGARET JARMAN HAGOOD  
*University of North Carolina*

COMERIO: A STUDY OF A PUERTO RICAN TOWN. By Charles C. Rogler. Lawrence: University of Kansas, Department of Journalism Press, 1940. 198 pp. Illustrated.

This book, which is a doctor's thesis at the University of Kansas, was written by a member of the faculty of the University of Puerto Rico and is a sociological study of rural life in Puerto Rico. Comerio lies near the center of the Island and had a population of about 2,500 in 1930. Almost all of the factual data for the study was secured in 1935.

Following the introduction, one chapter gives some of the essential facts about the problem of an over-dense population on the Island. The other chapters discuss economic conditions, social classes, the family, sex mores, education, religious life, and other aspects of the Puerto Rican cultural patterns. Despite the importance of such matters as class distinction and the distinctly inferior role given to women, there still exists a certain cultural unity. Rogler has been able to secure material available to few Americans. This material is presented in an interesting manner, without bias, and with unusual understanding.

The author does not believe that the melioration of the poor social conditions

is to be brought about through any narrow political or economic approach. In contrast to opinions frequently expressed, he finds the forces associated with these conditions to be too interrelated and complex to be corrected by any one, simple remedy.

This is an original study, and there is no attempt to relate the findings to the work of others. No bibliography is given. Since comparatively little has been written about the nearly two million United States citizens who live in Puerto Rico, American sociologists, particularly those interested in Spanish-speaking people, will welcome it as a contribution to their field of interest.

LAWRENCE R. CHENAULT  
*Hunter College of the City of New York*

WHAT'S PAST IS PROLOGUE. By Mary Barnett Gilson. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940. 307 pp. \$3.00.

Miss Gilson reached her present position as a member of the faculty of the University of Chicago via Wellesley, Pittsburgh (Carnegie Library), Boston (Trade School for Girls), Cleveland (Clothcraft Shops), Washington (World War), and points east, west, north, and south, including London, Geneva, and Hawaii. Armed with a Guggenheim fellowship and a year's leave of absence, she was on her way to have another first-hand look at the British unemployment insurance system. Estopped by the war she tarried in Chapel Hill "... long enough to look back ... on the past fifty years of [her] personal experiences. . . ." Students of unemployment insurance may well feel that the turn of events deprived them of a valuable study in their field; but they and others, and especially students of industrial relations, should feel more than compensated by the volume which is offered instead.

Miss Gilson was a pioneer in the field of personnel management. After gradua-



tion from college she got a job in a Pittsburgh library which brought her into the lives and homes of the steel workers. Her work in Boston, first with department store girls, and later as vocational counselor with the Trade School for Girls, greatly widened her horizon. Here she came in contact with Frederick W. Taylor, in whose philosophy and principles of scientific management she saw "a possibility of revolutionizing manufacturing methods in a way that would be of advantage to workers as well as employers." Then followed twelve years, "the most thrilling period" of her life, as employment manager of the Clothcraft Shops of the Joseph and Feiss Company in Cleveland. Here, with the encouragement and whole-hearted cooperation of a forward-looking management, experiments were made and practices established which made those shops a Mecca for all interested in industrial relations. During the first World War Miss Gilson served the Government in various capacities having to do with personnel work. Afterward there followed a variety of activities: consulting work, graduate work at Columbia University, participation in a survey of labor on Hawaiian sugar plantations, studies of unemployment insurance in the United States and abroad, particularly England, and some months in Geneva.

With this wealth of experience to draw from, almost anyone could write a useful book. But few indeed are they who could write it as Miss Gilson has. It bubbles with zest and enthusiasm. Even commonplace experiences sparkle with her deftness of touch, her delightful sense of humor, and the anecdotes which give point to them. And underneath all there is a seriousness of purpose, an abiding faith in true industrial democracy, and a conviction that the world can be improved by intelligent action. This is a rare book

and you will want to re-read it to get its full flavor.

H. D. WOLF

*University of North Carolina*

**BUSINESS EDUCATION IN THE CHANGING SOUTH.**  
By Walter J. Matherly. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939. 342 pp.  
\$3.00.

This is one of the volumes which were inspired and made possible by the comprehensive study of southern regions headed by Howard W. Odum. This book in itself is a rather encyclopedic treatment of education for business in the southern states. The author has examined an enormous mass of statistical and historical data, and has condensed it, arranged it, and presented it soundly but prosily. All stages and phases of business education in the South are considered, and at length.

Any one who expects to do further work on education for business in this part of the country will need to acquaint himself with Matherly's book, and will find it convenient to refer to it often. In fact, the principal use of the volume will probably be as a book of reference.

The statistical sources upon which the work was based are not of anything like uniform reliability. This fact is naturally reflected in the author's summaries and conclusions. For example, in the treatment of the history of education on the college level, data on the special curricula offered are drawn from a series of circulars issued by the United States Office of Education. The circulars in this particular series, dealing with collegiate courses in various special fields of business education were prepared on the basis of questionnaires that were unskillfully drawn and carelessly compiled. This results in some rather startling and quite misleading statements as to the number of students enrolled in the various major fields in different

institutions. The Office of Education confused the total number of students enrolled in all of the classes in any particular field with the number doing major work in that field. This results in many such astonishing statements as that on page 89, that the University of Alabama had 166 students in its transportation curriculum. There were actually about a dozen majoring in transportation and the larger figure referred to the total enrollment in all courses dealing with transportation.

In pointing out weak spots such as that just cited, we should not lose sight of the fact that this is a very useful work, and one which is likely to remain of permanent value. One wishes that the author had put into it, in addition to summaries of factual data, more of his own personal conclusions and ideas.

LEE BIDGOOD

*University of Alabama*

THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE NEGRO. By Charles S. Mangum, Jr. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1940. 436 pp. \$5.00.

The publication of this treatise provides the first comprehensive review of American legal practice concerning the relations of white and colored races since Stephenson's *Race Distinctions in American Law*, published in 1910. The instructor and student in the field of race relations have long realized the need for a volume which would be, not a legal source book, but a critical digest of the historical and contemporary statements of the law in its social setting, as it has been interpreted by courts throughout the nation.

The contents of the work are organized in eighteen chapters. Some of the principal topics which will be of particular interest to the sociologist and student of racial contact are: segregation; civil rights legislation; education; racial identity; elections; Jim Crow laws; legislation pertain-

ing to property rights; peonage; lynching; marriage and miscegenation. In addition to these there are other topics which deal more strictly with political and juristic institutions: courts and court practice; legal procedure; juries; the law of libel and slander; public carriers; and many others. The initial chapter asks the question, Who is a Negro? and in answering it brings together materials for the complete picture of our American variety of minority identification. All these topics are sifted analytically for their common denominator of public policy and practice.

It must be emphasized that the volume is in no way a mere compendium of legal information. With regard to all aspects of the Negro's legal status, careful integration and synthesis have taken place, so that we are presented with expertly reasoned summaries of the mass of conflicting codes and statutes. Most of the chapters are introduced by several paragraphs or pages which set the stage for the more technical discussions which follow. These introductions reveal the fact that Dr. Mangum has a keen awareness of the social and institutional nature of the law, in the sociological sense. His interpretations of the problems dealt with from this point of view form one of the most effective values of the entire work. Although the principal references and citations are to legal documents, this is by no means entirely the case. For example, in the chapter on Education, the author uses to advantage the studies of Schrieke, Holmes, Bond, and others, and the result is, for the sociologist, an especially useful treatment of race differentials. In the same chapter the recent legislation revolving about the Gaines case is interpreted as indicating one area in which the legal status of the Negro is about to be altered further, and probably to the Negro's decided advantage.

The problem of defining the legal status

of the Negro has become in large measure national instead of sectional in scope, due to recent migrations. The sources used in this book are not confined to the statutes of southern states; indeed, some little reference is made, by way of comparison, to the legal status of the Indian and the Mongolian. Nevertheless, in the opinion of the reviewer, what is provided in this work may well become, in the hands of the sociologist, the material for a reexamination of the basic southern folkways and mores, particularly some of those which continue to operate with a tenacity that is the despair of the student of race relations.

Mangum writes from the point of view of a liberal white southerner who believes that "an effort should be made to foster interracial cooperation and to show that fair treatment in the courts will not only bring us nearer the democratic ideal but will mean added prosperity for the nation." His book contains a selected bibliography and is well indexed.

MYRON F. LEWIS

*University of North Carolina*

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY IN IRELAND. By Conrad M. Arensberg and Solon T. Kimball. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940. 322 pp. \$3.50.

This book, written by two social anthropologists, presents the result of two years of field work (1932-34) in southern and western rural Ireland—mainly in three communities of County Clare, "a county in which there was a blending of older Gaelic and modern British influence and one that was neither entirely Gaelic nor entirely English in speech" (p. ix). The approach employed is a combination of the sociological and anthropological methods, and is largely descriptive and statistical in nature. While the book gives a most detailed description of various phases of Irish folk culture found in the three sample communities, "the purpose of the study

is not so much to characterize the communities described as it is to examine the behavior of persons living in them" (p. xxv). It presents a sociology of the Irish peasant's rural life functioning within the framework of the *family* and *community*. The authors stress the roles of the small farmers and farm economy, family labor, kinship system, occupation and status, and familism. The problems of family transition at marriage, the aged, and demography—"continuous emigration, decline of population, delay of marriage, and rise of bachelorhood"—are treated analytically.

Sociologists who were impressed with Arensberg's *The Irish Countryman*, will welcome this larger and more definitive work dealing with essentially the same thesis but couched in a different theoretical formulation. Rural sociologists, both teachers and researchers, should find this study stimulating and challenging in its content and approach.

In the reviewer's opinion, one weakness of this excellent book is the almost total exclusion of the role of religion in this rural folk culture. Certainly in southern rural Ireland, where Catholicism is so strong, the role and function of the Catholic Church in formulating and regulating social behavior hardly can be excluded from any so-called "master system" which purports to analyze rural behavior and social organization in that particular area.

VERNON J. PARENTON

*Louisiana State University*

THE CHALLENGE OF ADOLESCENCE. By Ira S. Wile, M.D. New York: J. W. Greenberg, 1939. 471 pp. \$3.50.

In recent years many books dealing with problems of adolescence have been published. For the most part, they have followed a conventional pattern. Dr. Wile's book is a different presentation and one



that in fairness can be said to strike deeper than previous discussions.

Dr. Wile has brought to his writing an enormous background gathered in his psychiatric practice. This has led him to a more causal explanation of the problems of adolescence than can ever be given when they are dealt with chiefly on the social level. Adolescence is at present the least understood period of life and the one most frequently exploited. The theme of much of the writing on the problems of youth is what makes young people troublesome to adults. *The Challenge of Adolescence* has nothing in common with such books. It is explanatory, interpreting the meaning of adolescence, its characteristic traits that give it distinction from all other life periods, and the difficulties of social adjustment that are inherent in an experience that is in the words of G. Stanley Hall "a new birth."

The reviewer would have liked even greater emphasis upon endocrinology than appears in Chapter III, believing that this aspect of adolescence is the least understood and by far the most important.

The book should be required reading for every teacher and leader of young people and for every parent who is open-minded and intelligent enough to understand it, for it has truth enough within its covers to revolutionize the practices of adults in their association with youth.

ERNEST R. GROVES

*University of North Carolina*

THE COUNTY AGENT. By Gladys Baker. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. 226 pp. \$2.00.

This is an excellent analysis of the work, past and present, of the county farm agent, or extension work with farmers in the United States, Department of Agriculture, which was started about 1912. The position of these workers is unique in that at

the same time they are joint employees of the Federal, State, and county governments. This uniqueness is analyzed, and the question considered of whether an employee can properly serve three masters at the same time. The answer is negative. The county agent is most susceptible, all out of proportion to the contribution from this source, to the influence of local government.

There were 2,916 county agents, not including 236 Negroes so employed, in 1937 in 2,869 counties. There were, in addition, 893 assistant agents, 315 club agents and assistants, 1,688 white and 179 Negro home demonstration agents, and one Negro club agent. There are approximately 3,200 counties in the United States.

A low in county agent work was reached in 1932, but since 1933, in the enlarged program of the Department of Agriculture, there has been great expansion. Also, since 1933, though beginning a bit earlier, there has been a profound change in the emphasis in county agent work from a definitely educational basis toward one of a regulatory, directional type. This change in emphasis has not been the same in all states. Particularly, in the northeast and similarly, but to a lesser extent, in the mid-west, the educational emphasis has largely been retained, while in the south, change toward the directional emphasis has been greatest.

The conclusion is reached that while the county agent serves well in the emergency, organizational phases of national programs, in the later stages a different type of employee is needed. Another conclusion is that future county agents need more training in the social sciences and less in the physical techniques of production, "two blades of grass to grow where one formerly grew."

Naturally, farm organizations, particularly the Farm Bureau, receive careful

consideration. Although the study is nation-wide, attention was centered upon county agent work in Iowa, New York, Alabama, Illinois, and Tennessee, where field studies were made.

This is a splendid piece of research with the findings interestingly, reasonably, and dispassionately presented. One concrete suggestion is that future county agents take a course in college, plus field laboratory work, in extension methods. For such a course, this study could well serve as a supplementary text. Professional workers, particularly those with rural responsibilities, will find it useful as a reference.

C. J. BRADLEY

*Division of Land Economics,  
Bureau of Agricultural Economics*

**NEGRO YOUTH AT THE CROSSWAYS: THEIR PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT IN THE MIDDLE STATES.** Prepared for the American Youth Commission by E. Franklin Frazier. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1940. 301 pp. \$2.25.

In an effort to answer the question, "What are the effects upon the personality development of Negro youth of their membership in a minority racial group?" the American Youth Commission sponsored recently studies of Negro youth in four different areas of the United States. One of these areas comprised the "middle states" cities of Washington, D. C., and Louisville, Kentucky—cities in which 268 Negro youths were interviewed in order to secure the information upon which *Negro Youth at the Crossways* is based.

The book itself is divided into two principal sections: Part I. Factors Affecting the Personality of Negro Youths, and Part II. Two Negro Youths—Warren and Almina. Among the factors having a direct influence upon the personality of Negro youths, the author devotes separate chapters to considering the effects of the community, the youth's family, the neigh-

borhood, the school, the church, the struggle for employment, and the consequences of social movements and ideologies. These chapters are in reality merely summaries of what the youths who were interviewed had to say about the problems the chapters discuss.

Part II of the book is devoted to lengthy case studies of two Negro youths: one boy and one girl.

*Negro Youth at the Crossways*, since it is a book not only about Negroes but also by a Negro, undoubtedly presents a much more intimate picture of Negro life than would have resulted from a similar study made by white investigators. Nevertheless, the book reveals a number of weaknesses—almost flaws—which detract greatly from its worth. It is rather difficult to believe, for instance, that only 268 youths selected apparently without undue attention to strictly scientific methods of sampling can be taken either as representative of the 28,718 Negro youths in Washington and Louisville, or of the 175,000 of them in the middle states. Yet that is exactly what the book says it is: a significant study of Negro youth in the middle states.

Nor is there anything especially new or startling in the findings presented by the study. Practically everything that is said in *Negro Youth at the Crossways* has been said in previous studies and oftentimes in these with more literary finesse and polish. As a matter of fact, it seems in certain portions of the book that Dr. Frazier is using the present study as a sounding board from which he can project opinions and reactions he has formed as the result of previous research and study.

The keynote of the book is indicated by the picture of the extremely dejected Negro youth shown on the cover, for throughout the entire book the emphasis is placed more upon the maladjustments

and problems of Negro youths than upon the constructive accommodations they have made to their surroundings and their neighbors.

GORDON W. LOVEJOY

*University of North Carolina*

*MEN ON THE MOVE.* By Nels Anderson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940. 339 pp. \$3.00.

*Men On The Move* is, in a sense, a follow-up of Mr. Anderson's *The Hobo*, published in 1923. The new work surveys some of the problems of the migratory worker not touched upon in the earlier study, and, in addition, considers the transient of the depression years. Information derived from the short-lived Federal Transient Program is carefully analyzed and presented, as is material from many other sources. In fact Mr. Anderson has done an excellent job of compressing, within this single and very readable volume, the whole problem of the modern "man on the move."

Mr. Anderson's work, dispassionately written, yet warm in human values, is not concerned with Hobohemia. That world, whose oddities attracted many writers of the twenties, has largely vanished now, along with the independent profession-proud men who fed the labor market of that time—the last free workers on the American industrial frontier. Replacing them in enormous numbers, circulating in a vast, uneasy, and never-ceasing current between the coasts, has come the new mass of the hopelessly unemployed. Here are found the people of *The Grapes of Wrath*, the migrant families, the homeless youth spewed out of the rural areas by a declining agriculture. Here is, essentially, all the information we possess about them. Here are their pictures, the age groups represented, their racial composition, marital status, their

incredibly miserable wages. Here is evidence of their genuine employability and also, and more certainly, the setting for young frustration and bitterness of mind.

More clearly than many, Anderson recognizes the necessity of migration. He points out, however, that this migrancy of workers, in depression periods and in general, calls for more social attention if it is not to prove deplorably wasteful both economically and in humanitarian terms. Now, in the cityward migration which is bound to follow the stimulation of the defense industries, this work deserves especially careful and attentive reading. As one who has known something of the life described, the unlovely world which is here so objectively yet movingly revealed, I sincerely recommend this volume. It does not offer panaceas. Anderson has succeeded eminently in understanding and presenting a difficult and complex problem. It is for an understanding and awakened society to find the solutions.

LOREN C. EISELEY

*The University of Kansas*

*HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS FOR DELINQUENT JUVENILES.* Volume II. Kentucky-Tennessee, 1940; Volume III. Pacific Coast States, 1940. By William B. Cox, *et al.* New York: The Osborne Association, Inc., 1940. 293 pp.; 417 pp. \$1.25 each.

*JUVENILE DELINQUENTS GROWN UP.* By Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1940. 330 pp. \$2.50.

The Osborne Association, a national organization founded by the late Thomas Mott Osborne, noted prison reformer, began in 1938 a nation-wide survey of training schools for juvenile delinquents the results of which are to be published in a series of handbooks. The first volume in this series covered the training schools in the west north central states (Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska,



North Dakota, and South Dakota); Volume II embraces two southern states, Kentucky and Tennessee; while the third volume includes a group of Pacific Coast states, California, Oregon, and Washington.

In each volume in an introduction of some forty pages the authors summarize the policies, practices, and administrative procedures of the entire group of training schools included in the area of study, and present in propositional form as a guide to officials twenty-two major objectives which should dominate institutions for delinquent juveniles. Then follows a detailed description of the administration of each training school, covering such items as history; administration; personnel; grounds and buildings; housing and home life; daily schedule; feeding, clothing, and other services; reception and classification; education; library; student self-government; recreation and community life; maintenance and other employment activities; medical and dental; psychiatric and psychological services; social service; discipline; religious activities; release procedures; fiscal; and population. A frank statement is made regarding specific weaknesses of each institution and how they may be remedied; and likewise praise is offered where praise is due. Already, apparently, as a result of the recommendations of the Osborne Association numerous improvements have been made in several of the institutions. Incidentally, it is surprising to find so many institutions fingerprinting its delinquents and sending the results to the F. B. I. in Washington, D. C., as well as cropping the heads of runaways, both boys and girls, and whipping them as a means of discipline.

Besides encouraging local improvements in the individual training schools, the Osborne Association is performing a

valuable service in assembling in a uniform, comprehensive, and impartial manner, administrative data on all training schools throughout the country. An annotated bibliography on juvenile delinquency is found in an appendix to each volume.

In 1934 the Gluecks published their now well-known work, *One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents*, which set forth in detail what happened to one thousand delinquent boys in a five year period following their treatment by the Boston Juvenile Court. The present study, *Juvenile Delinquents Grown Up*, made possible through the generosity of the Commonwealth Fund, traces the conduct record of these same boys through a second, and a third, five year period.

The general conclusion was reached that with the passage of time the conduct record of these delinquents improved considerably. For instance, the proportion of serious offenders which was 66.1 percent in the first five year period, decreased to 41.4 percent in the second five year period, and still further to 30.3 percent in the third five year period. With this decrease in serious offenders, there was a contrasting increase in non-criminals and in minor offenders during these three five year periods. The evidence indicates, according to the Gluecks, "that delinquent tendencies, at least in young persons, are inclined to run a course that is not too readily modifiable by present methods of treatment"; and that delinquency ceases when a certain degree of "maturation" has been acquired by the delinquent. This maturation process does not occur at any given chronological age, but is largely determined by the "distance away from the onset of delinquent behavior." It is suggested that "norms of maturity"

should be developed, and that "deviation of individuals from such norms could then be readily determined and an 'M.Q.' (maturation quotient) could be established."

WILEY B. SANDERS

*University of North Carolina*

PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL WORK. By Lois Meredith French.  
New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1940.  
344 PP. \$2.25.

This study, sponsored by the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers, and published by the Commonwealth Fund, endeavors to describe the historical development and present status of psychiatric social work. The two fundamental problems recognized in doing this are: (1) definition in terms of training or practice and (2) the actual distinction of the field as separate within social case work as a whole.

The material reveals that many untrained persons are holding positions which have the characteristics of connection with psychiatrists and the psychiatric function which supposedly define those positions as psychiatric ones. It also shows many trained psychiatric social workers engaged in activity in nonpsychiatric agencies. Mrs. French quite properly holds the point of view that definition of the field must be in terms of training rather than type of position held. The fact of working with a psychiatrist in a mental hospital does not in itself make one a psychiatric social worker, nor does working in a family agency deprive one of status acquired through specific training.

In view of the tendency within schools of social work to regard as desirable for all case work students an understanding of personality development, behavior and its motivation, much of the distinction

formerly typical of the psychiatric specialty breaks down, and the present distinction might only be held in terms of field work training in agencies staffed with psychiatrists and set up for dealing with emotional problems. However, when one sees a social worker whose entire field work experience has been in public welfare make a striking contribution on the staff of a child guidance clinic, one's belief in the validity of the distinction around field work training becomes somewhat shaken.

Mrs. French's careful summary requires that the reader bear in mind the undefined and changing nature of her subject. The value of the publication as a basis for understanding case work as a whole should be great, and we are indebted to the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers for this material. Perhaps the primary value of psychiatric social work also lies in its permeation of the field of social case work. The tendency of professional education toward offering the content of psychiatric knowledge for all its student case workers, together with the interest of trained psychiatric workers in positions outside psychiatric agencies breaks down increasingly the definition of this as a separate field.

A double function has from the beginning been accepted by psychiatric social workers, both treatment and educational responsibilities shared with the psychiatrists. There is not space here to discuss the shift in concepts of treatment. The educational function may have had its share in breaking down the validity of separateness of the psychiatric area within social case work as a whole.

MURIEL McLAUCHLIN

*Department of Public Welfare,  
Durham, North Carolina*

HEALTH IS WEALTH. By Paul de Kruif. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1940. 246 pp. \$2.00.

This latest of Mr. de Kruif's books is just another addition to the spate of reviews, and at that a highly colored review, of the national problems of medical care. He presents certain of the less publicized events immediately preceding the National Health Conference held in Washington, July 1938. The Conference, the underlying problems which brought it into existence, and the Wagner Health Bill (S. 1620), which is substantially the legislative embodiment of the National Health Program, are described more dramatically than is warranted.

A good part of the book, devoted to Mr. de Kruif's own program for the salvation of America's health, is predicated on a hypothesis long accepted in public health circles, namely, that it is sounder to spend thousands of dollars in bringing preventive medical services to those who go without it than to spend millions for hospital and professional care. Briefly, he recommends federal grants-in-aid to the states for: (1) expansion of public health services; (2) providing medical care to the medically indigent; (3) construction of new hospitals and maintaining existing voluntary and governmental institutions; (4) providing assistance for research and postgraduate medical, public health, and related training. Conspicuous by its absence is any mention of provision of medical service for the majority of American families with low incomes who require some budgetary system in order to pay their medical bills.

Over a period of years, Mr. de Kruif has established an enviable reputation as a champion of the underdog in matters pertaining to health and welfare. A startling incongruity in many pages of this book is his marked deviation from

his position. So serious a matter as the problems of national health demands objective thinking and the subordination of individual points of view. In *Health Is Wealth* there is much more animus and flippancy than can be justified.

JOSEPH HIRSH

U. S. Office of Education

THE AMERICAN COLLEGES AND THE SOCIAL ORDER. By Robert Lincoln Kelly. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1940. 380 pp. \$2.50.

Fortified by twenty years of experiences as Executive Secretary of the Association of American Colleges and even more years as teacher and administrator, the author proposed in this volume to trace the changing relations of the American colleges with their social order. The treatment is historical and synthetic; the style simple, descriptive, and undocumented; the objective an illustrative use of the data of educational and social history to point up a thesis. This thesis is that there has been in our history a golden thread binding the colleges together and to the social situation. The method of proof is both sociological and philosophical. The sociological argument is that the colleges, like any other social institutions, are situational emergents, and likewise their institutional practices. The author's essential philosophical method is a recurring use of the Hegelian dialectic. According to the writer, the objectives of the American college have been learning (thesis), thinking (antithesis), and service (synthesis). A better example of his philosophical bent is the frequent use of dilemmas: thus, the American colleges have constantly been caught, he argues, on the horns of loyalty to their own group and loyalty to the "Great Society." The author's use of undocumented generalizations results in this case in striking



insights. Thus, the proposition, only implicitly suggested it is true, that the American colleges have sought freedom within the culture in order to have freedom for the culture is most useful in understanding the American college situation. One of the virtues of this study is the optimistic perspective which it affords on the American educational scene. However, the areas of stress and strain, the major problems of college life, the dominant trends are not neglected: they are discussed with an enviable lucidity.

PAUL MEADOWS

*Western State Teachers College*

DO YOU KNOW LABOR? By James Myers. Washington: National Home Library Foundation, 1940. 139 pp. \$0.50.

When an author has been in and through "the mill," when he can take the near and the far view and be temperate about it, his words have substance. Mr. Myers' seven years as labor manager in the Dutchess Bleachery, his connection as an Associate of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, his long industrial secretaryship with the Federal Council of Churches, and his participation in interfaith activities bespeak a breadth of understanding that few clergymen can parallel. The nation has been his parish. He knows labor, the quiet justice-seeking type as well as the noisome racketeer, and he frankly discusses both. He is familiar with fact and fallacy and he knows the public mind.

In seventeen short chapters, each closing with a half dozen discussion questions, he traces labor "Up from Slavery" into organization, thence through controversy, strikes, and efforts at adjustment, local and national. He analyzes and describes the A. F. of L. versus C. I. O. controversy. He gives special attention to profit sharing, the cooperative movement, the Na-

tional Labor Relations Act, the national and international aspects of labor, the problems connected with race and sex, and closes with two chapters on education and religion. He sees the critical present as emphatic of the need for group study in church and club and home. Some of our conceptions of labor in a democracy call for realignment.

No better or more low priced, fact filled volume is obtainable to help the average citizen in his community study group get an objective appreciation of the aims, policies, and practices of American labor unions.

LEE M. BROOKS

*University of North Carolina*

THE I. L. O. YEAR-BOOK, 1939-40. Geneva: International Labour Office, 1940. Distributed in the U. S. by the International Labour Office, Washington, D. C. 345 pp. \$2.00 paper, \$3.00 cloth.

The International Labour Office Year-Book for 1939-40, marks the completion of 20 years' activity by this organization. It appears at a time when the organization and the system for which it stands are threatened by the international situation. John G. Winant, Director, and personnel needed to carry on the work of the office have been moved from Geneva, Switzerland, to McGill University, Montreal, Canada. The Washington, D. C. office remains, but the future of the International Labour Office, to some extent like that of its sister organization, the League of Nations, depends upon unpredictable events.

The preface to this work states that "The volume was already in the press in May 1940, and some of the information that it contains has already been outdistanced by events." The importance of war to the matters treated is explicit or implicit in almost every paragraph and the frequent references to Belgium, the

Netherlands, France, and the Scandinavian countries provide much information which has undoubtedly been "out-distanced by events."

These comments are not intended as a reflection upon the present value of the book. It is the latest and most thorough statement available of labor conditions and activities throughout the world. Its paragraphs give material on different countries which may be compared with interest.

Regarding the 52 countries which are or have been members of the International Labour Organization, material is presented on a wide variety of subjects: "Industrial Organization and Social Movements," "Economic Developments," "Conditions of Work," "Social Insurance," "Assistance to Mobilized Men and War Victims," "Remuneration of Labor," "Employment and Unemployment," "Migration," "Labour Law," "Living Conditions" and "Special Problems of Certain Categories of Workers."

This volume may prove to be the swan song of the International Labour Office, or it may be an indication of the fields in which the organization will make substantial accomplishments in the future. At present it is valuable as a reference book and interesting in the possibilities for comparison which it affords.

JOHN B. KNOX

*Alabama College*

CHALLENGES TO AMERICAN YOUTH. By Joseph I. Arnold. Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Co., 1940. 696 pp. \$1.80. Illustrated.

Here is a textbook designed for use in senior high school courses in "problems of American democracy" that actually says something—and says it well. Unlike the customary intellectually expurgated texts that present only the more pleasant aspects of American social prob-

lems while discreetly veiling the pathological, *Challenges to American Youth* deals with both aspects of our contemporary problems, in the process "letting the chips fall where they may."

The central idea of the volume is expressed in the prefatory remarks introducing the book to the reader: "The author of this book chooses to look upon these problems — personal, institutional, economic, political, social—as challenges. They are incentives to achievement rather than obstacles to progress. Especially they challenge *youth*, whose ideals are undimmed and who normally possess greater courage and determination than do the elders to tackle difficulties or seemingly impossible tasks . . . It is better for young men and women nearing the age of responsible citizenship to see things as they are, than it is for them to wake up to the truth in later years . . ."

Twenty-eight "challenges" grouped into five major divisions, each of which is preceded by a brief introduction, are presented to the youthful readers of the book. They are: Personal Challenges, Institutional Challenges, Economic Challenges, Political Challenges, and Social Challenges. Each main section is, in turn, divided into chapters. Thus, for example, the Economic Challenges include chapter discussions of Production, Income, Commerce, Financing Exchange, Labor, and Consumption.

Each of the "challenges" is presented in a simple, concise, and interesting manner. Chapter subheadings, frequently in the form of questions, and occasional sentence outlines serve to maintain the reader's interest and to compress the vast amount of information the book contains.

One aspect of the book deserves special commendation: the illustrations. There is scarcely a page that does not contain a

photograph, a chart, a graph, or a cartoon, but what is far more important than the mere number of illustrations is the fact that they are so well chosen as to form an integral part of the textual material.

At the end of each chapter is a list of "activities" which may be followed by students desirous of delving more deeply into a particular problem, and an extensive bibliography of the most recent books.

It is difficult to evaluate a text such as *Challenges To American Youth*, for it is a book that must be taught and not just read if its true merits are to be determined. For those school systems where it is possible for teachers to present controversial subject matter without fear of dismissal, this is an ideal book, but in the majority of the schools the text might possibly be considered as "radical." There can be no question about this volume's making teachers and pupils think: it is that type of a textbook.

GORDON W. LOVEJOY

*University of North Carolina*

SEEDS OF DESTRUCTION, A STUDY IN THE FUNCTIONAL WEAKNESSES OF CAPITALISM. By John Blair. New York: Covici Friede, 1939. 418 pp. \$4.00.

This book is devastating. It overwhelmingly states an apparently insoluble problem, demolishes the currently advocated solutions, and leaves the reader to wrestle with the result. Furthermore, it brings together between one set of covers in a classified form a vast amount of important statistics which can only be found in scattered sources. For the most part, the interpretations of these statistical aggregates seem sound.

The book is built around four axioms which the author considers fundamental to the successful functioning of capitalism. They are: "first, that capitalism must not cast out of employment a progressively

increasing number of workers nor lower the relative wages of those employed; second, that capitalism must not progressively raise prices without correspondingly raising wages; third, that capitalism must not distribute a large portion of its income to the upper income groups, and fourth, that capitalism must be ever-expanding." The subsequent material, with a large array of facts and figures, demonstrates that American capitalism has been and is violating these axioms with progressive intensity.

The four current proposals for remedying the present impasse are: (1) raising labor costs by increasing wages which is impossible without price control which is administratively extremely difficult if not impossible to enforce; (2) lowering prices which would mean either the re-establishment of effective competition or reduction by administrative control both of which raise insuperable difficulties; (3) redistribution of the flow of income which (a) would not add sufficiently to effective purchasing power and (b) would discourage the entrepreneur thus depressing capitalism; and (4) forcing industrial expansion which has theoretical possibilities but is administratively and psychologically difficult as the recent history of government inspired housing programs shows.

This book should be required reading for all capitalists, all reformers, and all teachers who claim to know how the American system works.

HARVEY PINNEY

*New York University*

THE BRITISH COMMON PEOPLE, 1746-1938. By G. D. H. Cole and Raymond Postgate. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939. 588 pp. \$4.00.

This volume traces the evolution of the British common people from the middle of the 18th century to the present time.



So far as the reviewer is aware, it is the most thorough and comprehensive survey of Britain's working classes. The reader who turns to this book expecting to find historical romance will be disappointed. It opens with a county by county survey of 18th century England, and then undertakes to show the role of the common people in the political, economic, and social movements that have in the last two hundred years transformed Britain into the great industrial and democratic state that she is today. It is a tremendous story that necessitates a discussion of nearly all the important currents of English life: industrialism, trade unionism, parliamentary and suffrage reform, Chartism, socialism, free trade, social legislation, imperialism, and the "dole." The authors have gone into the documents and there are many charts and tables

dealing with such matters as wages and food prices. It is a factual and unemotional study, which possesses less human interest than one might expect. The average reader will probably want to know more about the mental and emotional reactions of the common people to issues and battles of their day; more about the ideas and myths by which they lived.

A considerable portion of this volume is devoted to the economic and social developments of the 20th century. This part of the book is quite well done, and students of contemporary politics, economics, and sociology will find much of interest and value here. Taken altogether, it is a solid and well written volume, and possesses a select bibliography and a good index.

C. H. PEGG

*University of North Carolina*

#### BRIEFER COMMENT

**THE HOPI CHILD.** By Wayne Dennis. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940. 204 pp. \$2.50. Illustrated.

This is a study of the family unit from the viewpoint of the child. The book divides in two sections—the world in which the Hopi child is born and his behavior as he attempts to adjust himself to his cultural situation.

In spite of their different environments, the Indian and American child have, in the opinion of the author, in their behavior much that is common at all ages. The Hopi children show jealousy, give way to tantrums, have fears, and the boys fight about as much as do Americans. This similarity suggests that there is much likeness in the two environments in spite of their different historic origins.

The Hopi's reaction to his maternal uncle rather than to his father, since the former functions as the disciplinarian, reveals that resentment of authority con-

ditions the child's attitude toward a male adult rather than the sexual jealousy which the Freudian theory assumes as the dominant influence.

All students of the family will find this a valuable source of insight into the everyday life of one type of primitive family.

E. R. G.

**MULTIPLE HUMAN BIRTHS: TWINS, TRIPLETS, QUADRUPLETS AND QUINTUPLETS.** By Horatio Hackett Newman. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1940. 214 pp. \$2.50. Illustrated.

This is the right book for those who wish to have the most recent knowledge of science concerning twins, triplets, quadruplets, quintuplets. The reader will gather the impression that multiple human births bring social handicaps. The sociologist will especially value Chapter XI, The Psychology of Twins, and Chapter XV, How Differences in Environment Affected Separated One-egg Twins.

E. R. G.

**BORROWED CHILDREN: EVACUATION PROBLEMS AND THEIR REMEDIES.** By Mrs. St. Loc Strachey. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1940. 149 pp. \$0.75.

*Borrowed Children* is an impressive illustration of the extraordinary attack modern warfare makes on the family. Originally published in England in July of last year, it discusses in popular form some problems resulting from the evacuation of children and their remedies. It records the experience of some of the 730,000 children who were removed from their homes during the first days of September, 1939. It should be read by every student of the family because it gives some realization of the menaces to family life and childhood our machine type of fighting brings.

E. R. G.

**THE DOCTOR AND THE DIFFICULT CHILD.** By William Moodie, M.D. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1940. 214 pp. \$1.50.

*The Doctor and the Difficult Child* is a contribution of an English psychiatrist who for many years has had experience in dealing with problems of children and parents as Medical Director of the London Child Guidance Clinic. It takes up the most common difficulties of children stated concretely by a liberal use of case material. It discusses both causes and treatments of stealing, lying, unmanageableness, nervousness, enuresis, sleep disturbance, psychoses, and the like. It is a very practical book.

E. R. G.

**HOSTAGES TO PEACE: PARENTS AND THE CHILDREN OF DEMOCRACY.** By W. E. Blatz. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1940. 208 pp. \$2.00.

*Hostages to Peace* is a unique kind of book. It seeks to help those who guide children that they may carry through an

educating program that will eliminate the notion of using war as a device to solve problems. It is written in the form of letters and is based on the thesis that war is not instinctive but the result of a false and inadequate training for life. It faces realistically our present situation and looks forward to the more intelligent achievement of a surviving peace.

E. R. G.

**EMOTION AND CONDUCT IN ADOLESCENCE.** By Caroline B. Zachry in collaboration with Margaret Lighty. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940. 563 pp. \$3.00.

*Emotion and Conduct in Adolescence* is a detailed analysis of the process of growing up with emphasis upon the changes that accompany adolescence in attitudes toward one's self, one's personal relationships, and one's efforts to adapt to the basic social institutions. Chapter 13 considers these changes of youth as they approach citizenship and marriage.

E. R. G.

**PARENTS CAN LEARN.** By Helen Ellwanger Hanford. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1940. 263 pp. \$1.75.

*Parents Can Learn* is an intelligent and interesting discussion of the normal problems of child development as they appear in the family setting. Information, counsel, and interpretation based upon familiarity with family, such as most of us have experienced and all of us know, delightfully expressed, makes this one of the most useful of our books for parents.

E. R. G.

**CHILDREN FROM SEED TO SAPLINGS.** By Martha May Reynolds. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939. 337 pp. \$2.50. Illustrated.

*Children from Seed to Saplings*, written for adults who wish to understand child-

hood, is based upon ten years' experience in helping older people study children. It traces the child's career by periods and covers the entire territory of normal child development.

E. R. G.

**CHILD CARE AND TRAINING.** By Marion L. Gaegre and John E. Anderson. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1940. 320 pp. \$2.50. Illustrated.

*Child Care and Training* is the fifth edition of one of the most widely read books for parents. It is the product of extension courses and study groups carried on by the Institute of Child Welfare at the University of Minnesota. The material has been much influenced by questions and by parents. The family is interpreted as the world of the child. This book not only brings together the most accepted teachings of the recent science of child life but has in addition an understanding and sympathy toward parental responsibilities that make it especially constructive and persuasive in the hands of the kind of mothers and fathers who turn to it for counsel.

E. R. G.

**CHILDREN IN THE FAMILY.** By Florence Powdermaker, M.D., and Louise Ireland Grimes. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1940. 403 pp. \$2.00.

*Children in the Family* is a guide book type of discussion which seeks to give parents assistance in meeting their responsibilities from the coming of the baby through adolescence. Dealing as it does with so long a range of child growth in one volume, its analyses and suggestions are necessarily briefer than many parents require for an adequate insight.

E. R. G.

**THROUGH CHILDREN'S EYES.** By Blanche C. Weill. New York: Island Workshop Press (Co-op., Inc.), 1940. 365 pp. \$1.75.

*Through Children's Eyes* is a revealing book. It opens up childhood by reporting the experiences of individual children. The author assumes the role of interpreter of experiences difficult for adults to see objectively, and she succeeds in a task that is so difficult that it rarely is carried through successfully except by the novelist.

E. R. G.

**CHILDREN ARE PEOPLE.** By Emily Post. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1940. 383 pp. \$2.50. Illustrated.

*Children Are People* considers the minor, common problems that arise so constantly in the association of parents and children. Its purpose is to build a genuine comradeship between the adult and the child. The author writes not downward from the adult world but upward from the feeling and thinking of children. This appreciation of the value and the reactions in the life of the child as an educating influence upon the parent gives *Children Are People* a distinction shared by no other of the books offered parents.

E. R. G.

**LA VERDAD, LA CIENCIA Y LA FILOSOFIA.** By Francisco Javier A. Belgodere. Francisco Maruend, Guatemala 38A, Mexico, D. F., 1939. 262 pp.

Señor Francisco Javier A. Belgodere of Mexico sends us a work entitled *La Verdad, La Ciencia y La Filosofia* in which he sets about the task of proving that absolute truth cannot be ascertained. He examines the theories of the philosophers from the time of the Greeks to the present and discovers that none of these ever achieved a final solution of the problems he set for



himself in astronomy, the exact sciences, psychology, history, politics, ethics, or religion. However, this essay in relativism does not discourage the search for truth: it strongly encourages it, hopeless as the task may be. The book is beautifully printed and is very readable in spite of the abstractness of its title.

L. L. B.

**THE RAILROADER.** By W. Fred Cottrell. Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1940. 145 pp. \$2.00.

Sociologists have produced a number of studies of occupational types—the saleslady, the school teacher, the cook, the jazz-band musician. In accord with the comments of certain outstanding social scientists (Adam Smith, John Dewey, Franklin Giddings, et al.) these studies have emphasized the tendency of occupations to select adherents of a comparatively homogeneous type and to impose other similarities upon them. Further, they have emphasized the significance of occupation in influencing or determining other facts in the life of the adherent—marriage, family life, community participation, social position, etc.

Cottrell's study of *The Railroader* is the latest and best of these. The emphasis is strong upon in-group feelings of the adherents, upon language as a mark of "belonging," upon occupation as a determinant of family life and social position. We are told that this is not the observation of one who has *become* a participant in the group but rather of a participant who has *become* an observer in retrospect. If a nonrailroader may judge, Cottrell's knowledge and insight are ample evidence of his close acquaintance with the industry over a period of years.

Detailed studies of this type provide a validation of the emphasis which occupation has received as the principal deter-

minant of social participation and social status in modern society. The publication of similar studies of other occupations will constitute a literature useful in personnel work and vocational guidance and valuable to the developing field of occupational sociology.

J. B. K.

**FACTS ABOUT UNEMPLOYMENT.** By John N. Webb and Joseph C. Bevis. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1940. 34 pp.

For a decade preceding the summer of 1940, the United States was preoccupied with domestic problems. Of these problems unemployment seemed to be generally conceded as the greatest. Considering these facts, it is surprising how little is known about the number and characteristics of the unemployed. This booklet, which gives facts and figures on unemployment in Birmingham, Toledo, and San Francisco in March, 1939, as well as working definitions of some basic terms, will answer many questions for the undergraduate and the layman. The simple, clear presentation is commendable.

The authors have done a good job. But the fact that the information is so limited and is presented a year after collection suggests a need which we may reasonably expect the public employment offices with their new organization to supply: a periodic report of the number, distribution and significant characteristics of the unemployed in the nation.

J. B. K.

**EARLY AMERICAN LAND COMPANIES: THEIR INFLUENCE ON CORPORATE DEVELOPMENT.** By Shaw Livermore. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1939. 327 pp. \$3.50.

The central notion of this book is the thesis that the direct antecedents of the modern corporation lie in the unincorporated associations rather than in the

chartered companies. It is held that the association achieved all the essential characteristics of a corporation except monopolistic privileges arising from state's benediction in the form of a charter, that freedom of association was a basic need of business and a right demanded by business men, that the development of the associational form in the direction of the corporate idea eventuated in legislation freely granting the right of incorporation.

While there is valuable economic history in the volume and some requirement for re-orientation of our views on corporate origins, it is also true that there are some implicit assumptions in defense of speculative business activity and concentration of management control which are of doubtful social validity. A glance at the contemporary corporate scene may reveal some very substantial foundations for the early legislative skepticism as to the propriety of encouraging the development of associations corporate in form and function. The materials here collected and analyzed, however, are a desirable addition to the literature of economic history.

H. P.

FARM CREDIT IN CANADA. By W. T. Easterbrook. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938. 260 pp. \$2.50.

The author characterizes his work as a study in Canadian agricultural history. The history of farm credit up to 1917 is presented as a background for the study of government intervention during the following twenty years. Comparison between the activities of the governments of Canada and of the United States in the development of farm credit systems shows that much greater assistance has been rendered by the latter.

The author points out that the most

noticeable feature of farm credit in Canada is the absence of lending institutions specifically designed to serve farmers. He indicates that the need for greater stress upon the use of credit as an instrument of government policy in the solution of agricultural difficulties has become apparent. He ventures no definite opinion as to what will be the future policy of the Canadian government in this field.

The study is a splendid piece of fundamental research in an important field and on an important topic, especially at the present time when agricultural policies are being developed. It will be favorably received by credit students. It is unfortunate that the wording and general style are such as to discourage all except the most interested and intrepid.

C. J. B.

THE CITY ON THE HILL. By Marian Sims. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1940. 357 pp. \$2.50.

Most novels with a purpose are so concerned with the Purpose that they irritate believers in the cause by cluttering the arguments with narrative, and bore the general reader with a poor story whose characters are mere puppet mouthpieces. *The City on the Hill* is a refreshing departure from this rule. The double problem of conflict between generations and of reform in a small southern city are really integrated with the personalities of the chief characters. One reason for this is that Mrs. Sims "knows her stuff": the inflexibility, conservatism and religiosity of the older leaders; the power and the deliberate blindness of the "best people"; the ways of little political bosses and their henchmen; the social tragedy of idealistic, resourceful leadership helpless among such forces; the contradictions in race relations; the humor and pathetic tragedy of the city court.

Another reason is that she can create real people and convincing situations, and can write well about them. The stories of a liquor election, of the appointment of a municipal judge, of an attempt at police reform are as interesting as those of a family quarrel and a romance—indeed are part and parcel of these more personalized relations. This kind of novel gives flesh and blood to the bones of sociological statistics.

H. L. H.

**CITIZENS.** By Meyer Levin. New York: The Viking Press, 1940. 650 pp. \$2.75.

We are sorry to report that Levin's *Citizens* does not measure up at all to his *The Old Bunch*, a best seller in 1937, which was an important realistic novel about the Americanization and social problems faced by Chicago Jews. Some of its characters reappear in the *Citizens*, the story of a young doctor involved in the events of Memorial Day, in 1937, in Chicago. It is true that Levin's work is a magnificent combination of social analysis with narrative invention. But there is too much preaching here about the injustice of the forces fighting unionism; the result is that the story, as a human drama, is something less than engrossing. In fact, it falls definitely flat. One gets tired of the following kind of pronouncements by the union sympathizers: "... That's the trouble with this cock-eyed country. The good people have no political ambitions.... It may be the New Deal, but they're making the same old deals, all right.... Phew. That stinks.... Yah. Everything stinks." It would be unfair to assert that none of Levin's cynical interpretations are true, but the author's characterizations of the current industrial problems suffer from the oversimplification of his apostolic mind. This indicates that the discerning reader would

do well to regard the book as an exhibit of our contemporary "radical" social thinking in some of its variety, rather than as an authoritative source of light regarding our social system as a whole.

J. S. R.

**FOLKWAYS.** A STUDY OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL IMPORTANCE OF USAGES, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, MORES AND MORALS. By William Graham Sumner. Centennial Edition with an Introduction by William Lyon Phelps. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1940. 692 pp. \$4.00.

One of the most important publications of 1940 is the Centennial Edition of William Graham Sumner's *Folkways*, which was issued on September 23. The book has an entertaining little introductory note by William Lyon Phelps, although not a strong paper, which interprets the "grand ole man" to generations who do not know about his personal characteristics.

The appearance of the book is especially timely and important for two reasons. One is that it was difficult for students to obtain copies. The other is that it is a very appropriate revival of interest in the folkways, now so much in contrast to the technicways of the modern world. Without doubt Sumner's *Folkways* is a book of the ages and will always remain an important standard contribution to the field of sociology. It may well be hoped that the book will be studied more and more and will be a required reading of all students of sociology.

H. W. O.

**LEADERSHIP FOR RURAL LIFE.** By Dwight Sanderson. Foreword by M. L. Wilson. New York: Association Press, 1940. 127 pp. \$1.25.

This little volume on *Leadership for Rural Life* approaches two key problems of the present day. One, of course, is the problem of a balanced economy, in which an agrarian economy soundly bottomed



in a balanced agriculture and industry can be adequately reintegrated in American culture. The other is the problem of the changing needs of leadership in all of our efforts. The book treats in a sort of catalogue way these problems, enumerating very briefly something of the needs for rural leadership and describing the role of the leader and types of leaders. It attempts to answer the question as to what is leadership and points to some practical ways of creating, developing, and training leaders. It treats briefly some of the requisites of the professional leader and discusses the meaning and values of leadership to the leader himself. While the book is written primarily for extension workers, rural ministers, social workers, and is intended to be an elementary approach, it would seem to be a reasonable expectation that more attention and analysis should be given to elementary factors in changing rural life, such as are involved in development and conservation of resources, land use, scarcity and abundance economy, and the basic qualities of country life and agriculture which would hold college graduates to the farm or would recruit them to the rural way of life.

H. W. O.

**THE HISTORY OF THE WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY.** By Marie Louise Degen. The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1939. 266 pp. \$2.50.

This is a detailed, concrete, and unprejudiced account of the ideals, programs, and activities of the leaders of the Woman's Peace Party from its organization in 1915 to its reorganization and affiliation with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in 1919. Based largely upon official reports and pamphlets of the Woman's Peace Party, the Jane Adams Peace Collection, and

autobiographies, biographies, and memoirs of other leaders of the party, it is a significant addition to the works concerning women's organizations and to the literature of peace movements.

J. C. S.

**MODERN MARRIAGE.** Edited by Moses Jung. New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1940. 420 pp. \$3.75. Illustrated.

This volume is a printing of the lectures that have made up the course in Modern Marriage at the State University of Iowa. The lectures were given by specialists in several fields related to marriage.

The chapters are of varying quality and worth. Chapter eleven on *The Physical Aspects of Marriage* by E. D. Plass, M. D., is a singularly fine and complete statement of the subject for the student who is relatively uninformed about such facts. Chapter three, *Marriage and Mental Hygiene*, by John M. Dorsey is a clear statement of the personality problems of marriage adjustment. Other chapters treat their subjects with such detail or so technically that one wonders whether college students would get much from them.

Instructors of college courses in marriage should be able to use portions of the book with great profit.

D. S. K.

**LOVE PROBLEMS OF ADOLESCENCE.** By Oliver M. Butterfield. New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1939. 212 pp. \$2.25.

This is a report of the questions asked by adolescent boys and girls about dating and preparation for marriage. The information was obtained through a series of discussion groups on boy-and-girl relations conducted by the author in California, Connecticut, and New York. One characteristic of the individuals studied was that they were principally

attendants at conferences sponsored by Protestant religious organizations.

The chief value of the study rests in the fact that it presents a considerable body of first-hand information concerning the actual questions for which American young people of this type are seeking answers.

D. S. K.

**THE CHURCH AND THE FAMILY.** Papers Presented at the Nineteenth Annual Episcopal Social Work Conference Held at Buffalo, New York, June 16-23, 1939. New York: The National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church, 1939. 110 pp. \$0.50.

This little volume is significant more for its example of the place the church can take in relation to family life than for its actual content. It faces squarely the problems of contemporary American families, and asks what the church is doing and can do for its people.

D. S. K.

**ALIMONY. LAW AND CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS,** Vol. VI, No. 2. Edited by John S. Bradway. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1939. 320 pp. \$0.75.

This "Alimony" issue of *Law and Contemporary Problems* is made up of ten essays on various phases of the alimony problem by contributors well qualified to write on their particular subjects. The first two articles present the social and legal backgrounds of present practice with respect to alimony. The next four point out peculiarly legal aspects of contemporary practice, suggesting weaknesses in the laws and difficulties in their handling by the courts. The seventh essay considers the practical problems in the enforcement of alimony decrees, and the eighth, social and psychological effects on the spouses of the availability and granting of alimony. The last two articles present the French and German practice in order to

give perspective for studying American law.

The study recognizes the difficulties that arise out of divorce and the granting of alimony, but it presents a well-balanced and constructive statement of the problems and their possible solutions. It recognizes that there is need for cooperation between the lawyer, the sociologist, and the social worker. The reader will find it to be a helpful contribution to the better understanding of one of the vexing problems of social relationship.

D. S. K.

**DIVORCE AND THE AMERICAN DIVORCE NOVEL, 1858-1937. A STUDY IN LITERARY REFLECTIONS OF SOCIAL INFLUENCES.** By James H. Barnett. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1939. 168 pp.

The subtitle of this work explains its purpose of testing the thesis that the literature of a given period reflects the social actions and beliefs of that period. Mr. Barnett's conclusion is that, so far as divorce is concerned, this has been true in the United States during the last eighty years.

A good summary of the facts of divorce legislation and public attitudes toward divorce is presented in chapters one and two. The questionable contribution of the work is suggested by the author himself in the final sentence, "It is hoped that this study has added something to our knowledge of the relations between society and literature, if only a demonstration of the complexity of this relation."

D. S. K.

**MATRIMONIAL SHOALS.** By Royal D. Rood. Detroit: Detroit Law Book Company, 1939. 424 pp. \$3.50.

Royal D. Rood is a practicing attorney in Michigan, and *Matrimonial Shoals* is a presentation of his views of the existing state of marriage and divorce. The author is dogmatic in his assumptions, uses

statistics with little critical evaluation, and allows a single hypothesis to explain the increase in divorces and the decrease in marriages. On this account the reader is likely to lose sight of any value the book may have.

D. S. K.

**THE ADMINISTRATION OF OLD AGE ASSISTANCE.** By Robert T. Lansdale, Elizabeth Long, Agnes Leisy, Byron T. Hipple. Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1939. 345 pp. \$3.75.

One of the co-authors in his preparatory remarks modestly hopes that this study will be "sufficiently worth while so that those who helped to make it possible will feel recompensed for their time and efforts." What extraordinarily restrained moderation! For a study so well planned, so painstakingly executed, and so clearly written, such humility is almost painful to behold. There are few, if any, studies in existence of the contemporary experience in American states that express such authority by reason of their intrinsic competence and adequacy.

Mr. Lansdale and his associates chose to carry on their study of old age assistance in twelve states where reasonably sound administrative practice was to be found. By reason of the fact that the study was made during a period in which federal funds were made available to some of the states, an interesting comparison was possible of practice before and after the use of federal funds as well as of practice in those states with and without federal funds.

There are no final conclusions in the sense that there is an all-right or an all-wrong system. In situations as evolving as those in the public assistance field there is nothing constant save change. Indeed the theme as Mr. Lansdale himself observes is change and experimentation.

A. E. F.

**SOCIAL SECURITY IN THE UNITED STATES. A RECORD OF THE TWELFTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL SECURITY.** New York: American Association For Social Security, Inc., 1939. 235 pp. \$1.00.

This volume carries the papers delivered at the Twelfth National Conference on Social Security in 1939 under the auspices of the American Association for Social Security. The contents are grouped under the following heads: Looking Ahead in Old Age Security, A Reconsideration of the Old Age Insurance System, Lessons in Unemployment Insurance, Integrating Insurance and Relief, Facing Health Insurance, Towards the Social Security Goal. The papers by Messrs. Bakke, Hodson, Haber, and Epstein in the selections on Integrating Social Insurance and Relief are outstanding. Dr. Cabot's and Helen Hall's discussions of health insurance will repay reading by the serious students of the problem. The American Association for Social Security Inc. may well be proud of the high quality of these proceedings as well as of its share in effecting legislation in the field of social security.

A. E. F.

**PUBLIC ASSISTANCE. Volume I. AMERICAN PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES.** In Five Parts: With Select Documents. By Edith Abbott. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1940. 894 pp. \$4.50.

By this book Dean Abbott adds to the number of useful volumes of documents edited by members of the faculty of the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago. This first of two volumes is in five parts dealing respectively with: The Principle of Public Responsibility; The Old Poor Law in the Twentieth Century; Local Responsibility and Medical Care; State Grants-in-Aid for Public Assistance; Federal Aid and Emergency Relief." This is primarily a book for students in our American



schools of social service." As a reference book in this connection it should be indispensable. The introductions to the various Parts have the merits which would be expected from Miss Abbott in this field.

R. M. B.

A **GUIDEBOOK FOR BEGINNERS IN PUBLIC ASSISTANCE WORK.** By Ella Lee Cowgill. New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1940. 49 pp. \$0.40.

*A Guidebook for Beginners in Public Assistance Work* covers background and administration of public assistance, the worker's attitude, interviewing, and recording. The material has the earmarks of having been written by a practitioner. There is economy of effort in proportion to its value for the reader. The suggested reading lists enlarge upon and give substance to related concepts and cover areas of social work practice not included. One might be tempted to exercise the reader's privilege of questioning the author in reference to some aspects of recording, but as a whole this writer thinks that the content of the Guidebook is sound and valuable.

A. A. C.

**SEXUAL PATHOLOGY.** By Magnus Hirschfeld, M.D. Authorized translation by Jerome Gibbs. New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1940. 363 pp. \$2.95.

*Sexual Pathology* is a study of the derangement of the sexual instinct. No European has had a greater or a wiser part in the development of the science of sex than Hirschfeld. His greatest contribution resulted from his Institute of Sexual Science and his establishment of the first German marriage consultation bureau. He was, however, a prolific writer and of the various books of his that have been translated *Sexual Pathology*

will be found by most students to be more useful than any of his previous American editions.

The book is filled with material drawn from Dr. Hirschfeld's extensive practice that will increase the insight of the marriage counselor, the minister, or the doctor who are called upon to help people in marital troubles. The author's discussion of cerebral impotency, for example, uncovers the source of no small part of the marital incompatibility that in the United States is so often a fundamental cause of divorce.

*Sexual Pathology* is not a book to be read quickly, nor is it one that should be given over to the non-specialist. Within its proper sphere it is one of the most valuable books of 1940, and no serious student of marriage problems should fail to own it and study it.

E. R. G.

**MIND EXPLORERS.** By John K. Winkler and Walter Bromberg, M.D. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1939. 365 pp. \$3.00.

*Mind Explorers* is a fascinating account of the evolution of mental hygiene from Gall's phrenology to the present American program. Pinel, Charcot, Mesmer, William James, G. Stanley Hall, Cattell, Adolf Meyer, and other contributors to the science of the mind are placed in their historic setting and interpreted as influences making for a better understanding of mental health and disease. The reader will miss the contribution of Séguin and Walter Fernald who did so much to advance the care of the feeble-minded, William A. White who certainly deserves to be among those of the first rank who brought into being modern American psychiatry, and Frankwood Williams who as medical director of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene did much

to popularize the idea of mental health in this country. The work of Dorothea Dix is also given scant attention. To most students of the mental hygiene movement, it will seem impossible to defend the omission of Williams, White, and Fernald and the consideration given Santayana and Josiah Royce.

The story of mental healing has several times been told in interesting books, but *Mind Explorers* has accomplished this difficult task the most successfully, in part because more stress is made on the personalities involved and the social situation in which they worked than was true in previous books.

E. R. G.

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL CASE WORK. By Josephine Strode in Collaboration with Pauline R. Strode. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940. 219 pp. \$2.50.

This book, according to the writer's description of it, is to help teachers, supervisors, and students, to understand the background, method, and area of social case work practice. In her treatment of this subject, she has not only spread herself over a large territory but also she has failed to give an accurate picture of the field and practice of social case work today. She leads the reader to believe by implication that the differences in social case work are less real than their likenesses. Furthermore, she would also lead the reader to believe that social case work practice today uses the historical method of approach in relation to its clients. From current literature and publications, it is an accepted fact that the present situational approach is as valid and as authoritative. Since the book's primary purpose seems to be acquainting the undergraduate with the field of social case work, it seems imperative that the real differences

be portrayed and evaluated in any introduction to the field.

It is a sad omission in a text that no significant case situations are presented. Miss Strode's feeling for the need of clients and their problems is sincere and responsible. We wish that she had been able to give a broader and deeper description of the field and to have avoided the dilemma of indoctrinating her readers.

I. K. C.

CURRENT MATERIAL FROM THE FIELD OF SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE. Pullman, Washington: Graduate School of Social Work, State College of Washington, No. 1, 1940. 42 pp.

This pamphlet which is intended, so the introduction states, to meet a request for "live material" certainly presents just that. Here we have four papers presented by people actually working on the job and their material deals with practical problems of their every day job in the public welfare field. The discussions on recording are clear and concise and answer many of the pertinent questions asked by workers and students. In "The Meaning of Case Work Services" Miss Marjorie Smith brings us face to face with our need to remember and be aware that the client is the most important person in any case work situation and must not be lost sight of in the ramifications of agency function. "Rural Community Planning" gives an interesting picture of the careful slow way one must go about interpretation and planning for case work services in rural communities where organized social work is so new an idea.

It is to be hoped that there will be continuance of this publication for it represents a constructive attempt on the part of people doing the day by day job of case work to put into words their thinking and experience.

R. E. D.

**CULTURAL PROBLEMS IN SOCIAL CASE WORK.** New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1940. 58 pp. \$0.50.

This pamphlet contains an article by Maurine Boie La Barre on "Cultural and Racial Problems in Social Case Work with Special Reference to Work with Negroes," one by Elise de la Fontaine on "Cultural and Psychological Implications in Case Work Treatment with Irish Clients," and lastly, one by Eileen Blackey on "Some Cultural Aspects of Social Case Work in Hawaii."

Though differing in many respects there is a common element running through each of these articles. Each stresses the necessity for the case worker to be aware of the differing cultural background of her clients that she may better understand and relate herself to their problems. But more than this is the dominant note emphasized repeatedly that the real concern of the case worker must be primarily on what meaning this cultural background has for the individual client, how he feels about it and what emotional content it has for him. It is on the basis of this understanding that the case worker finds her place in helping the client deal with his difficulties.

Here is a vivid picture of how all powerful a force in any situation is one's cultural background.

R. E. D.

✓ **THE NEW CASTLE COUNTY WORKHOUSE.** By Robert Graham Caldwell. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1940. 257 pp.

This study of the administration of the New Castle County Workhouse near Wilmington, Delaware, from 1899 to 1938, is a dissertation in sociology for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Pennsylvania, and represents one unit of a larger, unpublished study, *History of Penology in Delaware*, by the same author.

The New Castle County Workhouse is unique among the penal institutions of the United States in that it serves as a city lock-up, a county jail and prison for its own county, and a prison for long termers from all counties in Delaware.

The failure of Delaware to establish a state prison system, which is the general pattern in the United States, is attributed to the "culture conflict" within the state "between an urban north and a politically stronger rural south."

W. B. S.

**SOCIAL WORK YEAR BOOK, 1941. A DESCRIPTION OF ORGANIZED ACTIVITIES IN SOCIAL WORK AND IN RELATED FIELDS.** Sixth Issue. Edited by Russell H. Kurtz. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1941. 793 pp. \$3.25.

The aim and scope of the Social Work Year Book, 1941 can best be summed up in the words of the Editor: "An attempt has been made to present a factual, cross-section view of organization and practice in the various fields as they appeared in 1940, with a minimum of historical background and of forecast. Important developments transpiring in the two-year period since the 1939 *Social Work Year Book* was published have been emphasized. Coverage has been restricted to the United States except for one article, "International Social Work." (Preface, p. 5) Unlike the 1939 issue which had three main divisions, the current volume has returned to two major sections, namely, the group of signed articles on organized activities and the directory of national and state agencies. These correspond to parts one and three in the Fifth Issue. Logically, Part Two of the earlier volume—Public Assistance in the States—has been omitted. There is likewise an Introduction and an extensive Index.

This biennial encyclopedia of social work has become an indispensable aid, not restricted in its use to the field of social



work, but also valuable alike to the student, teacher, or practitioner, whether he be in the social sciences or the public service.

K. J.

**WHAT DO I DO NOW? A GUIDE TO CORRECT CONDUCT AND DRESS FOR BUSINESS PEOPLE.** By Mildred M. Payne. New York: The Gregg Publishing Company, 1940. 120 pp. \$0.76.

This little book may be commended for its brevity and conciseness. Another virtue is that it is intended for men as well as for women, while the majority of books in this field are directed wholly toward women. Although it quite definitely makes its appeal to the young person, it can be read with profit by those more mature who may find it helpful to refresh their minds on the more subtle points of social and business etiquette. Its chief value, of course, is the purpose for which it was primarily written—as supplementary reading in courses on office administration and personnel practices and as a handbook to consult when in doubt. As in every book of this kind, there will be points of disagreement and omissions, which will seem, to the individual reader, of the utmost importance, but one cannot be too critical in this respect, especially since the subject matter has been condensed into such limited compass.

Every teacher of social work administration and every social work administrator will find *What Do I Do Now* a valuable adjunct, especially for recommendation to the beginner.

K. J.

**WHO WALK ALONE.** By Perry Burgess. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1940. 312 pp. \$2.75. Illustrated.

In line with the high motivation and purpose now everywhere apparent in America, *Who Walk Alone* admirably fits

its thinking into this frame of reference. Here is the story of a soldier who contracted leprosy while serving in the Philippines during the Spanish-American War. Aside from its being a tale beautifully told of one who heroically faced his fate, it has real sociological value in that it is an excellent example of how occupational therapy can aid in rehabilitating a group incurably sick and socially ostracized. Exaltation of self-sacrifice and a tone of defeatism, which might well characterize such a study, are noticeably absent. Moreover the book aims to remove some of the stigma and dread now almost universally associated with a disease which can be arrested and the incidence of infection of which is no greater than in many other diseases and far less than is generally held. The author points out that the connotation of loathing and loathesome which "leper" and "leprosy" carry is unjustifiable and suggests that a renaming to "Hansen's Disease," after Gerhard Armauer Hansen who discovered the *mycobacterium leprae* in 1871, might be a first step in combating this attitude. We need more books of this kind.

K. J.

**MALARIA AND COLONIZATION IN THE CAROLINA LOW COUNTRY, 1526-1696.** By St. Julien Ravenel Childs. The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Ser. LVIII, No. 1. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940. 292 pp. \$2.50.

This work, which the author calls a study in social history as distinguished from technical history, is an attempt to glean from the records of the early settlements of the Carolina Low Country whether malaria was endemic in this region prior to European settlement and what effect the disease had upon colonization. The data on malaria available in these early records, all of those consulted being located in the United States, are

scanty, and many of his conclusions had necessarily to be reached by inference.

Such as the data are, they demonstrate, the author declares, "the influence of society on the disease rather than the disease on society" (p. 263). In the early attempts of the Spanish and French to establish colonies at Port Royal in South Carolina, malaria apparently had little significance for the history of the period, and from the evidence available the author concludes that it was improbable that malaria was already present in the region. It was after the Ashley River settlement was established by the English and the Lords Proprietors made an effort to induce immigration that malaria seems to have become naturalized, but in 1685-1696 the severity of the disease seems to have declined. The eighteenth century was to begin a new era in the history of malaria in the Low Country, for two important factors favorable to its development were to be introduced: importation of Negroes from Africa and increased cultivation of rice.

G. G. J.

**THE MARCH OF MEDICINE.** Edited by the Committee on Lectures to the Laity of the New York Academy of Medicine. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. 168 pp. \$2.00.

This little book represents the fourth series of lectures to the laity given by various medical authorities at the New York Academy of Medicine during 1938-1939. Only three of these lectures will have some attraction for a social scientist audience. Dr. Cecil K. Drinker's "Not So Long Ago," a history of the life and medical practices in Colonial Philadelphia, is culled largely from his book by the same title, published in 1937. "The Story of Insanity," presented by Dr. R. G. Hoskins, covers the wide period from demonology to the unsolved problems of modern psychiatry. Karl Menninger's "Cinderella of Medicine" is a popular

adaptation of a paper by the same title published in the June 15, 1938 issue of the New York State Journal of Medicine. Of express interest is his plea for the recognition of psychiatry and of "psychological and social factors [as] a part of medical science."

J. H.

**AMERICAN DOCTORS OF DESTINY.** By Frank J. Jirka. Chicago: Normandie House, 1940. 361 pp. \$3.75, Trade Edition; \$7.50, Limited Edition. Illustrated.

It would seem that publishers and the public have an insatiable appetite for "doctors' books." A recent accession to the summer and fall 1940 lists is *American Doctors of Destiny* which is described succinctly, if extravagantly, by its subtitle as: "A collection of historical narratives of the lives of great American physicians and surgeons whose service to the nation and to the world has transcended the scope of their profession."

The period covered is from pre-Revolutionary days to the present. Some of the little-known medical figures are portrayed along with the giants. Homey incidents, anecdotes, and dramatic touches—the three stock-props of most medical biographies—are used time and again to enliven the more stereotype material but, by and large, the book reads slowly. It lacks the zest of a de Kruif and the absorbing interest of a Haggard.

J. H.

**THE GOVERNMENT AT YOUR SERVICE.** By Archie Robertson. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1939. 340 pp. \$2.75.

This is a book about a vast army of government workers who, irrespective of politics or administrations, are busily engaged, year in and year out, with the task of rendering service to the American people. "The Government at Your Service" is much more than a household handbook of ready reference; it is a

sound, sensibly arranged catalogue of government services that are available for the asking. It is sound because the author has had the good judgment to consult and check with the people entrusted to the administration of these multifarious services. It is sensible and comprehensive, because the author has eschewed the traditional departmentalism and, instead, has canalized his text along functional lines. Thus he describes the variegated services (and publications) available on any conceivable aspect of American home life, public health, worker's security, business and government, among other subjects. These descriptions are a far cry from the conventional manuals of the activities of the various departments in the government.

Of immense value to readers in general (which, no doubt, arises out of sympathy for government workers), is Mr. Robertson's caution when requesting information or advice, to make requests *specific*. He states in essence, and we must agree smilingly, that it is much sounder to save a three cent stamp than to write to the Public Health Service "for your publications on health," or to the Department of Labor "for a job."

Mr. Robertson has thought of almost every question that any citizen is likely to ask of his government's activities—from medical services available under Federal auspices and ways to qualify for Civil Service jobs to methods of tending a rock garden. His book thus fills a real need and should be read widely.

J. H.

**THE PATIENT AS A PERSON: A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF ILLNESS.** By G. Canby Robinson. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1939. 423 pp. \$3.00.

With the gradual introduction of psychiatry into medicine and the growing recognition of psychosomatic relationships in recent years, there has been a recrudescence of the concept of social medicine. Medical attention is once more, and now more forcefully than ever, being directed to "the whole of things"—those economic, psychological, and social factors that are not only responsible for disease, but also important in its cure and control.

This, essentially, is the central theme of Dr. Robinson's book, which is written around 174 case histories which depict the sorrows and tragedies of the poor and underprivileged. Like Dr. René Sand of the University of Brussels, Dr. Robinson feels that social diagnosis is as important as physical diagnosis, and that social treatment is necessary if physical (and psychological) treatment is to be effective. Dr. Robinson holds that such social diagnosis and treatment should be undertaken routinely with clinical procedures, a view which, although not widely held at present, points the way for what it is hoped will one day be standard procedure in the practice of medicine.

"The Patient As A Person," while thought-provoking, is non-controversial. It can be read with great advantage by all who are concerned with the social problems of medical care.

J. H.

#### NEW BOOKS RECEIVED

**THE RUBBER BUDGET ACCOUNT BOOK.** Cambridge, Massachusetts: American Institute for Economic Research, 1941. \$0.25. Charts.

**FAMILY CASE WORK SERVICES FOR REFUGEES.** By Joseph E. Beck, Florence Nesbitt, and Helen Wallerstein. New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1941. 39 pp. \$0.40.

**THE ADOLESCENT PERSONALITY. A STUDY OF INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR.** By Peter Blos. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1941. 517 pp. \$3.00.

**COMPARATIVE PSYCHOLOGY MONOGRAPHS. A FIELD STUDY IN SIAM OF THE BEHAVIOR AND SOCIAL RELATIONS OF THE GIBBON (HYLOBATES LAR).** By C. R.



- Carpenter. With introduction by A. H. Schultz. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940. 212 pp. \$2.00. Illustrated.
- THE CATHOLIC CONFERENCE OF THE SOUTH. REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS AND ADDRESSES OF THE FIRST ANNUAL MEETING. Atlanta, Georgia, April 14, 15 and 16, 1940. Richmond, Virginia: Executive Headquarters, 1941. 132 pp. \$1.00.
- THE AMERICAN AND HIS FOOD. A HISTORY OF FOOD HABITS IN THE UNITED STATES. By Richard Osborn Cummings. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1940. 267 pp. \$2.50.
- READ YOUR LABELS. By Helen Dallas and Maxine Enlow. New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1941. 30 pp. \$0.10. Illustrated.
- CHILDREN OF BONDAGE. THE PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT OF NEGRO YOUTH IN THE URBAN SOUTH. By Allison Davis and John Dollard. Prepared for the American Youth Commission. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1940. 299 pp. \$2.25.
- THE AMERICAN AGRICULTURAL PRESS 1819-1860. By Albert Lowther Demarce. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. 430 pp. \$4.00. Illustrated.
- THIRTY-FIVE YEARS OF EDUCATIONAL PIONEERING—AND A LOOK AHEAD. By John Dewey, Jonathan Daniels, Norman Thomas, Harry W. Laidler and Others. New York: League for Industrial Democracy, 1941. 32 pp. \$0.10.
- SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION. Revised Edition. By Mabel A. Elliott and Francis E. Merrill. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1941. 1087 pp. \$3.75. Tables.
- ACCIDENT-AND-HEALTH INSURANCE. By Edwin J. Faulkner. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1940. 366 pp. \$4.00.
- LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN BRANCH COUNTY. By Robert S. Ford and Frank M. Landers. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1940. 38 pp. \$0.10. Illustrated.
- LANGUAGE STUDY IN AMERICAN EDUCATION. By Charles C. Fries with the cooperation of William M. Sale and Edwin H. Zeydel. Prepared for the Modern Language Association of America. New York: Commission on Trends in Education of the Modern Language Association of America, 1940. 40 pp.
- SOCIAL ACTION. THE AMERICAN CASTE SYSTEM. By Buell G. Gallagher. New York: Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, 1941. 38 pp. \$0.15.
- URBAN SOCIETY. 2d Edition. By Noel P. Gist and L. A. Halbert. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1941. 619 pp. \$3.50. Illustrated.
- WORKERS BEFORE AND AFTER LENIN. By Many Gordon. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc., 1941. 524 pp. \$4.00.
- WHAT IT TAKES TO MAKE GOOD IN COLLEGE. By Samuel L. Hamilton. New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1941. 32 pp. \$0.10. Illustrated.
- SCOPE OF REGIONAL PLANNING. (BEING CERTAIN NOTES ON THE FIELDS OF KNOWLEDGE BASIC TO THE PRACTICE OF REGIONAL PLANNING). Preliminary Edition. Cambridge: Department of Fine Arts, Harvard University, July 1, 1940. 18 pp. (Mimeographed).
- HOW TO MAKE YOUR BUDGET BALANCE. By E. C. Harwood and Helen Fowle. Cambridge, Massachusetts: American Institute for Economic Research, 1941. 143 pp. \$1.00. Charts.
- SOUTHERN INDUSTRY AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT. By Harriet L. Herring. With a Foreword by Howard W. Odum. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1940. 103 pp. \$1.00. Tables.
- STUDIES IN LEGAL TERMINOLOGY. By Erwin Hexner. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941. 150 pp. \$1.50.
- COUNSELING THE HANDICAPPED. A MANUAL ON APTITUDES: THEIR DISCOVERY AND INTERPRETATION. By Holland Hudson and Rosetta van Gelder. New York: National Tuberculosis Association, 1940. 55 pp.
- HOW TO START A LIFE INSURANCE PROGRAM. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Institute for Risk Analysis, 1940. 32 pp. \$0.50.
- THE COMPENSATION OF WAR VICTIMS. MEDICAL AID, COMPENSATION AND WAR PENSIONS. Washington, D. C.: International Labour Office, 1940. 91 pp. \$0.50.
- GROWTH AND DECLINE OF AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES. By David Ross Jenkins. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940. 95 pp. \$1.60.
- LIFE'S INTIMATE RELATIONSHIPS. By Talmage C. Johnson. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1941. 205 pp. \$1.50.
- HOUSING AND REGIONAL PLANNING. Written and Illustrated by Herman Kobbe. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1941. 233 pp. \$3.00.
- THE UNEMPLOYED MAN AND HIS FAMILY—THE EFFECT OF UNEMPLOYMENT UPON THE STATUS OF THE MAN IN FIFTY-NINE FAMILIES. By Mirra Komarovsky. With an Introduction by Paul Felix Lazarsfeld. New York: Dryden Press, Inc., 1940. 163 pp. \$1.75. Tables.
- LAW AND CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS. COMBATING THE LOAN SHARK. Durham, North Carolina:

- School of Law, Duke University, 1941. 206 pp. \$1.00.
- THE WONDER OF LIFE. HOW WE ARE BORN AND HOW WE GROW UP. By Milton I. Levine, M.D., and Jean H. Seligmann. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940. 114 pp. \$1.75.
- PRINCIPLES OF ABNORMAL PSYCHOLOGY: THE DYNAMICS OF PSYCHIC ILLNESS. By A. H. Maslow and Bela Mittelman. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1941. 638 pp. \$3.50.
- THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. WITH AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF OUR COUNTRY. By Robert A. Maurer and George J. Jones. Boston: D. C. Heath & Company, 1941. 136 pp. \$0.80.
- THE PASSING OF THE SAINT. A STUDY OF A CULTURAL TYPE. By John M. Mecklin. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941. 206 pp. \$2.00.
- THE STEPFATHER IN THE FAMILY. By Adele Stuart Meriam. Edited by Sophonisba P. Breckinridge. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1940. 158 pp. \$1.00.
- FIRST COMPREHENSIVE REPORT. THE MICHIGAN CHILD GUIDANCE INSTITUTE. November 1, 1937 to December 1, 1940. To His Excellency Hon. Murray D. Van Wagoner, Governor of Michigan. Ann Arbor: The Michigan Child Guidance Institute. 95 pp. Tables and Figures.
- MAN AND HIS HABITATION. A STUDY IN SOCIAL ECOLOGY. By Radhakamal Mukerjee. With a Foreword by B. Sahni. New York: Longmans, Green & Company, 1940. 320 pp.
- ABSTRACTS OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS, THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA. Presented to the Graduate College in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Lincoln: The University of Nebraska, 1940. 216 pp.
- INTO ABUNDANCE. By Soren K. Ostergaard. Chicago: Willett, Clark & Company, 1940. 154 pp. \$1.50.
- RECENT AMERICA. A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1900. By Henry Bamford Parkes. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1941. 664 pp. \$4.50.
- HOLD AUTUMN IN YOUR HAND. By George Sessions Perry. New York: The Viking Press, 1941. 249 pp. \$2.00.
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#### SOUTHEASTERN WORKSHOP IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Furman University Summer School and The Greenville County Council for Community Development will sponsor a Southeastern Workshop in Community Development from June 9 to July 15, 1941, on the Campus of Furman University. The Workshop marks the close of the five year experiment of the Greenville County Council for Community Development, financed by the General Education Board, and which Dr. Edmund de S. Brunner of Columbia University has declared to be "one of the best financed, educationally motivated projects of recent years." The participants will be limited to fifty, chosen for their interest in undertaking an experiment in community development, or others with some experience in community development who desire to broaden their understanding and to evaluate their experience, and will be distributed among the 11 states of the Southeast—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia—together with a few persons selected from outside the region.

Further information may be secured from C. B. Loomis, 209 University Ridge, Greenville, South Carolina, who will be glad to receive applications and answer questions.



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